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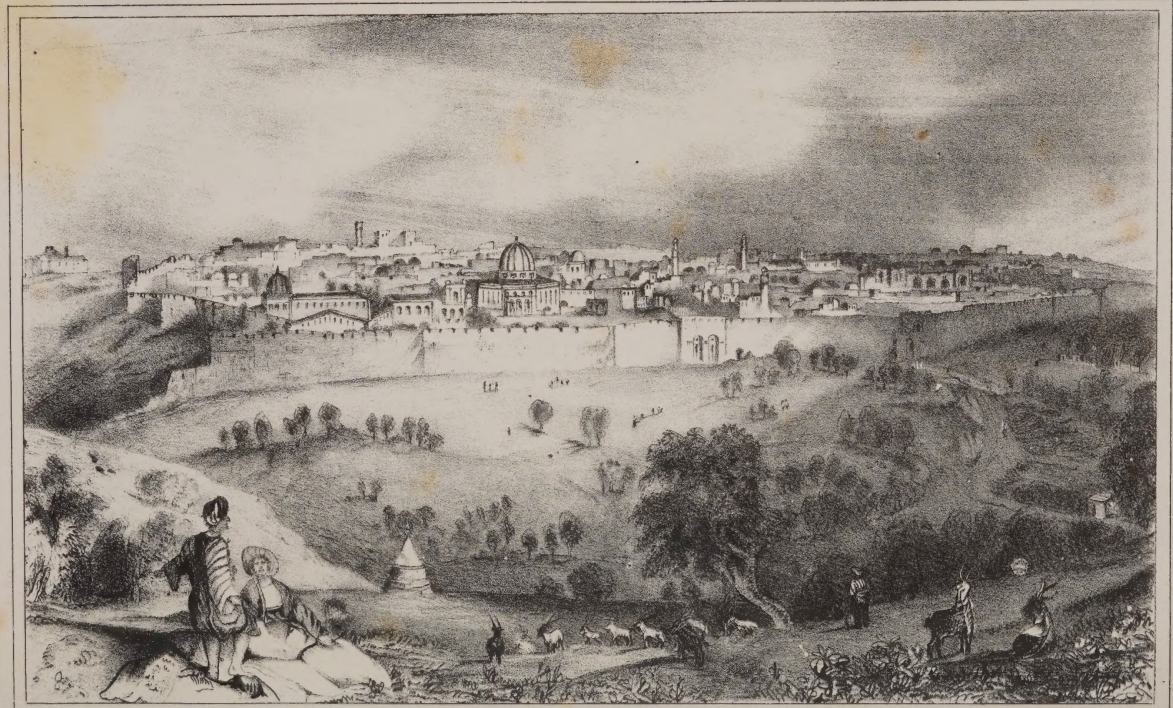

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THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS

FROM THE

BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

TO THE

PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THEIR CONQUESTS, DISPERSIONS, WANDERINGS
PERSECUTIONS, COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES,
LITERATURE, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND

FORMS OF WORSHIP,

WITH AN

ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS EFFORTS MADE FOR THEIR CONVERSION

COMPILED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.
BY M. A. BERK.

WITH A PREFACE BY
WILLIAM JENKS, D.D.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY M. A. BERK.
1849.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In every point of view in which the state of the Jews can be contemplated, it must be regarded as an object fraught with the deepest interest. They have been a wonderful people from the beginning. Their history, commencing with the call of Abraham, extending onward to the periods of their captivity—and the destruction of Jerusalem—and embracing the subsequent judgments that overtook them—their present dispersion—and their future glorious prospects,—is a history full of meaning and of interest, and valuable for the lessons which it teaches. It differs, in many important respects, from the history of any other portion of the human race. The country which they once occupied exhibits many singular and peculiar features. Once they were God's "peculiar treasure,"—first as a family, and then as a nation. Their national literature is the most ancient in the world; and their code of laws, as embodied in their sacred books, was admirably adapted to the circumstances in which they were placed, and to the promotion of the specific purposes for which it was designed. The great features of their national character are delineated in the records of their earliest history. Once they were "a kingdom of priests, an holy nation;" but they neglected the great salvation; and now they are homeless and desolate, "without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without a Terraphim." Nevertheless, they remain unconsumed, "meted out, and trodden down;" but marvellously preserved, as a distinct and separate race, "dwelling alone, not reckoned among the nations, a bye-word and a proverb,"

but still beloved for their fathers' sakes. They now hang their harps upon the willows, and weep when they remember Zion. Zion said, "The Lord hath forsaken me; my God hath forgotten me." But what saith the Lord? "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, but I will not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hand; thy walls are continually before me." A time of favor is yet awaiting them. "I will raise up," saith the Lord, "the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." "And I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land, which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God." "And when the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad."

As a standing memorial of God's faithfulness, all the judgments that he threatened have overtaken them; but, as destined also to be the monuments of his mercy, all that he has promised will be accomplished. The righteousness of Zion and Jerusalem *shall* "go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." The city that sits "solitary," and "is become as a widow," *shall* "no more be termed Forsaken, nor the land be any more termed Desolate; she shall be called Hephzi-bah, and the land Beulah; for the Lord delighteth in her, and her land shall be married." Though she hath "lien among the pots," she shall "be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold." "The Jews *shall* turn to the Lord, and the veil *shall* be taken away." Though now scorning the imputed righteousness of Christ, they shall yet be pardoned and cleansed, and become "a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of their God." Though now scattered and called outcast,

"God's eye rests on them; he doth earnestly remember them still, and will surely have mercy upon them." Though driven, without any permanent resting-place, from country to country, their attachment to their ancient soil remains; and, amidst persecution, and desolation, and fiery trials, they anticipate the time when their wanderings shall all be over, and they be reinstated in their father-land. Amidst all the changes of civil polity, and the various revolutions of the nations of the world, this people has preserved a substantial unity of character, that is but slightly modified by the peculiarities of the different countries where they are to be found. To the student of human nature, by the medium of history, the documents in which the circumstances of the Jews are detailed, will ever afford the most valuable instruction; but it is on the Christian, and viewed in the light in which Christianity presents it, that the condition of the Jews urges its claims to consideration, with a force that none can resist who have felt the power of divine truth on their hearts.

The obligations under which Christians are to the Jews are such as they can never sufficiently repay. Christianity is indebted to them, as the chosen people of God, for all the privileges which they now enjoy, by the possession of the records of Divine Revelation. All the inspired writers of both the parts of the canon of Scripture were Jews. By the Jews the Old Testament was preserved with the utmost care, and transmitted through successive generations with the most scrupulous fidelity; and to the skill and diligence of Jewish transcribers exclusively it is that Christianity owes the present possession of these Sacred Writings in their original form. The learned of that nation have, at different times, produced writings, which, amidst a mass of error and absurdity, contain much that is calculated to throw light on the meaning of many passages of the Old Testament, and communicate much useful information respecting the language in which it was written; and when general attention began to be directed to the study of this language, there was no other quarter at the time to which the student could have

recourse for the instruction necessary to his success. The first preachers and missionaries of the Gospel of Christ were Jews; and it is to the instrumentality, either direct or indirect, of men of this nation, that, under the blessing of the Head of the Church, is to be ascribed the first introduction and continued existence of Christianity throughout the extent of the Christian world.* To the same source must also be referred all the temporal blessings which Christianity has brought with it into the countries in which it has been established.

When we think of these things, we wonder why the Jews should have been so hated, and contemned, and persecuted by men professing Christianity in the countries of the old world. Can any modern nation boast of such ancestors? Can any prince or magistrate glory in a nobler line of sires? Have the Christianized Gentiles received from any other nation such literature, such poetry, such elegant writings, such divine narratives, such inestimable treasures of divine truth, as all these which we have received from the Jews in the Gospel, recorded in the Old and New Testaments? Did any nation but the Jews give us the Savior and Great One, who came to turn away ungodliness from Jacob, and to be our salvation to the ends of the earth? No, not one.

And they are preserved in the midst of the Gentile world as a distinct people, in order to show to all nations the great and glorious deliverance awaiting Israel and Judah.

The following pages will show, in a succinct and popular epitome of their history, what God has done to them in his vindicating justice; and what he is beginning to do to them, in turning the hearts of foes and friends toward them, to do them good IN THE LATTER DAYS.

I commend this book to the providence of God, hoping that the Christian and Jewish readers will profit by the perusal thereof. I have only to add that I have made these additions,—namely, an Index, and a Preface,—at the request of my very dear Christian friend, MR. BERK, a son of

* The Reformation itself seems to have owed not a little to a Jew. Luther was greatly helped by the writings of Lyra, a Jewish convert, to a right interpretation of the Bible; so much so, that it has been said, "Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset," — If Lyra had not piped, Luther had not danced.

Abraham, "the father of the faithful," both according to the flesh, and according to the spiritual covenant.

W. C. BROWNLEE.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 16, 1842.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

From the Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, Pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass.

The book which Mr. Berk is now circulating is well worthy of attention from all friends of the Jews, his "brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh." Those who purchase it will do a kindness to him, while they may receive an equivalent, if not more, in the value of the information which it contains.

SAMUEL M. WORCESTER.

Salem, March, 30, 1842.

From Rev. Thomas M. Clark, Rector of Grace Church, Boston.

The information contained in the "History of the Jews," re-published in this country by Mr. Berk, is very valuable. The book appears to have been compiled with care, and the subscriber believes that its statements may be relied on as true. He would cordially recommend it to the Christian public.

THOMAS M. CLARK.

Boston, July 5, 1842.

From Rev. Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature, Theological Seminary, Andover.

I have read the *History of the Jews*, by Mr. Berk, the bearer of this, and deem it a useful book in giving information respecting the Jewish nation, from the time of their captivity down to the present period. I can hardly name the book which comprises so much of this history in so small a compass, in the English language. I think it worthy of the attention and the patronage of those who feel an interest in reclaiming the unbelieving Jews; and I hope and trust there are few Christians destitute of such an interest.

MOSES STUART.

Andover, 17th Nov., 1842.

From Rev. Dr. Sharp, Pastor of Charles Street Baptist Church, Boston.

The History of the Jews, from their captivity to the present year, published by Mr. M. A. Berk, with a preface by Dr. Jenks, is a very interesting volume. It contains information concerning that ancient and much injured people, that can be found in no other book. I trust the history of that wonderful people, their persecutions and sufferings, will be generally read; and excite the sympathies and prayers and efforts of Christians in their behalf—and that the publisher of this book will be amply rewarded.

DANIEL SHARP.

Boston, Jan. 5, 1842.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

No one, I think, who has experienced upon his own heart the influence of divine truth, as derived from the holy Scriptures, will hesitate to form his estimation of men according to the sacred standard. And his taste, hallowed and sanctified by piety, will give to the subjects of revelation their just weight and importance—which can be no other than the highest.

In contemplating, therefore, the nations of the earth, whatever regard he may have for classical antiquity, and whatever interest he may take in the lives, characters and pursuits of the great men of Greece and Rome, he will yet be willing to turn from them, and dwell with a far higher interest on the Hebrew nation. For its worthies he will feel an attachment he cannot feel for others. Their characters are blended with the great articles of his faith, and their lives illustrate the volume which is his guide to eternity. Their history will be to him the most important. For he cannot forget that to them God was pleased to reveal Himself and His will; that of them were "the fathers;" and that, above all, they were separated from the rest of the nations of the earth, for the special purpose, that of them should be born the Messiah, "the Desire of all nations," as well as "the glory of God's people, Israel."

It was an eminent Jew who declared, publicly and solemnly, when questioned concerning his professed faith in Jesus Christ as this Messiah of his nation, that he taught "none other things than Moses and the prophets did say should come." Let this "Hebrew of the Hebrews" be heard and believed by his "kinsmen according to the flesh," whose reverence for their Master, Moses, is so great; and they will find that even Moses will rise in their estimation, when it is perceived and felt that "the law," of which he was the chosen promulgator, is "a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ," their own Messiah, for eternal salvation.

The Gospel honors the founder of the Hebrew faith, then, as it does the founder of the Hebrew nation; making Abraham "the father of the faithful," and Moses, his distinguished descendant, the most eminent type of the Messiah, who was also "of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh," in whom God has united the human nature with the divine; "for in him," as was foretold by Isaiah, in His appropriate name of "Emmanuel," "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

When Christ, then, is accepted, it is, virtually, but the fulfillment of the prediction of the Jewish prophet, that "men" of all nations "shall take hold of the skirt of *Him that is a Jew*, saying 'We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.'" And hence it actually is, that, although, on account of their unbelief and sin, as Moses himself asserts, the Jews, as a people, have failed to be what their God graciously declared He was ready to make them, "a nation of priests, a holy nation," they have, nevertheless, even as it is, become the instruments of enlightening the world. For the apostles of Christ, the first preachers of the Gospel, were, as well as their Lord and Master, of this highly favored race.

Now such a consideration is conciliatory. It disarms the spirit of persecution, if a real Christian can feel that spirit. And it can, at the same time, cause the reflective Jew to forgive the indignities and injuries his nation has unhappily suffered. Yet it is not to be forgotten on either side, that

the Holy Book they both believe predicts these very sufferings—a prediction confirming in its fulfilment the solemn truth of God.

The spirit of the Gospel is love. And it contains the memorable assertion, "If a man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His." It therefore reproves, and consequently disowns, every unfriendly, hostile feeling, except against sin. It seeks the good, spiritual and temporal, of all mankind—particularizing "first the Jew," and then the Greek or Gentile. This is its golden key to open the hearts of all men. And its spirit is manifesting itself in those numerous associations which have been formed for persuading the Jews to embrace *their own Messiah*, I repeat this name, their endeared "Emmanuel." The professions which these associations make are substantiated by the real benefits they have conferred, and are not empty words. Actions have shown, that many Christians are desirous of wiping away the blot which for many an age disgraced the name they bear, in reference to treatment given the Jews.

This book is a proof. It appears to be written in a good spirit, friendly, loving, Christian. It manifests a kind regard to the House of Israel, in the earnest desires which breathe throughout it, that Jews may embrace their promised Shiloh, as many Gentiles do agreeably to Jewish predictions, and be happy in Him here, and forever!

A Jew, who sincerely yields himself to these benevolent desires in his behalf, and receives in faith the New as well as Old Testament, as his ancestor Abraham would have "rejoiced" to do, must truly look on Jesus Christ with feelings far more keen than can be experienced by mere Gentile believers. Christ is literally to Jews their "bone and flesh"—their countryman—the Hope of their illustrious fathers, on whose account themselves are "beloved"—predicted by their own David, Isaiah, and other holy prophets of their nation—and "precious," not to them alone, but to "be for salvation to the ends of the earth"—the Grand Medium of union to the whole human family.

The writer of these few prefatory remarks has had, com-

paratively, but little intercourse with Jews. Yet such as he has known, who have manifested a serious piety, and professed a belief in Christ, have justified, he must say, the views now expressed, and the character just described. And his earnest wish is, and his prayer, that the re-publication of the present volume, enlarged and enriched by his Judæo-Christian friend, Mr. Berk, may be blessed "of the God of Israel," not only to excite an enlarged affection toward the Jews, and an interest in their highest welfare, among Christians themselves, which is greatly desirable; but also to attract the descendants of Abraham to the faith of the Gospel, and a trust in their Messiah and King, agreeably to the cheering prophecies of their own divinely inspired Scriptures.

WILLIAM JENKS.

BOSTON, JANUARY 11, 1843.

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

It will perhaps be expected, by the reader of the following pages, that something should be said of the history of the chosen people previous to the captivity of Babylon; and the first thing that suggests itself is the question, Why God should have chosen any people, among the millions of the earth's inhabitants, as the depositaries of his Word and the recipients of his especial favor.

"God's ways are not as our ways;" and it does not become us to inquire into what he hath seen fit to withhold from our finite faculties and understandings. When, in a spirit of pride or of vain curiosity, we proceed to investigate the motives which influence the Infinite mind, and boldly entering the sanctuary, amid the mysteries of which He enshrouds his lofty designs, inquire, "What doest thou?" an indignant voice from the oracle replies, "Secret things belong unto the Lord our God." God owes no account of his motives and intentions to man.

Among things revealed, however, we may properly push our inquiries; the lessons we have been taught belong to us. It does appear that it was God's will that man should walk uprightly, and that, in a brief space, this truth was utterly forgotten; the whole race, with a solitary exception, being sunk in the lowest depths of depravity. Nor did the manifestation of his detestation of wickedness in the destruction of mankind, with the exception of one family, make any abiding impression on that family's descendants. To preserve mankind from moral ruin, therefore, and to prepare them for the coming of the Christ, it seems to have been necessary that a people should be selected as the depositaries of certain truths, to whom other nations might turn for instruction; and for this high trust and dignity Abraham and his seed were chosen. From what has come down to us of the patriarch's character,

it again appears, even to our limited understandings, that he was peculiarly qualified for his sublime position. Just was he found, and faithful he remained, amidst all the trials of his faith. He established the rite of circumcision, to mark his posterity, and died, bequeathing the covenant to his son, in whose personal history there is little interest; but who appears to have served God to the best of his knowledge and abilities.

By divine appointment, the youngest son of Isaac became heir of the promises; and, by a series of occurrences, in which the hand of God is every where manifest, the son of the Canaanitish shepherd was attached to the throne of Egypt, and the chosen people became many and powerful on the banks of the Nile; too powerful; for, by their rapid increase, they were likely to have become the ruling race of the land. They were dangerous to the Egyptians, and therefore it was the policy of the Pharaoh to enslave them, and, by making their religion a cause of continual suffering, to drive or seduce them from it. "A new king arose, who knew not Joseph;" that is, who was not grateful for the services he had rendered. His plan was to crush and debase his new subjects by severe and unrequited toil; and, lest this should not thin their numbers fast enough, he commanded that all the male infants of the Hebrews should be cast into the Nile. In a word that comprehends the sum of human miseries, they were *slaves*. Their sufferings wrung from them a cry of distress that reached the throne of Jehovah, and he raised them up a deliverer; such a man as appears but once in ages, if, indeed, more than one such man has ever appeared; a man combining the zeal of a patriot, the military qualities of a warrior, and the wisdom of a philosopher and sage. Before Moses, there were governments of men and castes; but he was the first to institute a government of laws. His genius, with the direct aid of God, suggested remedies for all the evils wherewith the Israelites were afflicted, and raised them from the abjection into which they had fallen. He led them out of bondage and formed them into a republic; he first devised that form of government to which the march of mind, after the experience of three thousand years, has brought, or is fast bringing, all civilized nations of the earth. For sixteen

hundred years, crowded with events the most calculated to extinguish the little model association he created, sixteen centuries of suffering and persecution, it existed in all its integrity, till the hour foretold for the regeneration of the human race.

God did not take the rescued Israelites directly to Canaan, probably because their long servitude had abased the character of the then existing generation, and made them comparatively ignorant or heedless of the religion of their fathers. There is strong evidence of this fact in the first books of the Pentateuch. Before they came into contact with the nations of Canaan, it was necessary that they should have such proofs of the power and protection of their God as would inspire them with confidence for the unequal strife; and they were therefore long kept in training for the duties which awaited them and the position they were to take. The moral law was given in thunder from Sinai, and the tabernacle was reared by special direction from the pillar of cloud. At the same time, they were taught the necessity and wisdom of trusting in God, by constant displays of his power and goodness. All this was not sufficient for the first generation out of Egypt; they often broke into discontent and rebellion, and therefore were they suffered to be consumed in the wilderness. And then, a new race of men had sprung up, well instructed in their religion, and, his sublime mission accomplished, Moses died. No one has raised his monument; he did that himself. What mind has so deeply graven itself upon the human mind universal as his? Whose spirit has so deeply penetrated into all modern law, all modern policy, all forms of civilized society? Since the fall of the Roman empire, there has been no political system that has not borrowed, more or less, from that of Moses. Christianity and Islamism owe their chief elements to the revelation first promulgated by him.

Joshua was the worthy successor of Moses, and completed the work planned by him. He had no appointed successor; as long as the tribes remained in peace, their perfect organization required no leader. When war broke out the case was otherwise, and different persons were appointed to meet the exigency at different times; some of them by God himself.

But, during the rule of the *Judges*, the tribes retrograded. They suffered from civil dissensions and wars, and from the natives of the land, whom, in disobedience to the express command of God, they had neglected to drive out. Religion did not prosper; the worship of God was neglected. Samuel restored the affairs of the nation, when at their lowest ebb; and, had he been immortal, or had his virtues been hereditary, it might have gone on prospering; but the wickedness of his sons disgusted the people, and they clamored for a king. God gave them one.

Saul's prosperity was as the morning dew. Forsaking the Lord, he was forsaken of him, and the nation shared his misfortunes. A better monarch succeeded him — wise in council, bold in battle, and sincerely pious withal. Under him, the throne may be said first truly to have been established; the empire was widely extended, and religion occupied a proper portion of the public attention under his auspices.

Solomon perfected the work of his father. During the reigns of these two monarchs, the Hebrew empire reached its zenith, enjoying a degree of prosperity and commanding an extent of territory unknown at any former period of its history. The people enterprising and industrious — the land richly cultivated — foreign foes held in abeyance — justice dispensed with an even hand — all the legitimate wants of the people supplied — want and disease almost unknown — the twelve tribes linked together in the bonds of a common brotherhood, and placed under one compact and wisely-administered government — but, above all, the worship of Jehovah, and the pompous ceremonial with which it was celebrated — established the Hebrew empire in the respect and admiration of surrounding nations, and made it the most powerful and flourishing monarchy in Western Asia. The conquests of David had greatly extended the kingdom, and produced a salutary awe on the neighboring nations; consequently, the reign of Solomon was peaceable. The predominant tribe of Judah lay as a lion which no one ventured to rouse up. (Gen. lxix. 9. Numb. xxiii. 24; xxiv. 9.) From the Mediterranean Sea to the Euphrates, from the river of Egypt and the Elanitic Gulf to Berytus, Hamath,

and Thapsacus, and eastward to the Hagarenes on the Persian Gulf — all were subject to the sway of Solomon. The warlike and civilized Philistines, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, the nomadic Arabians of the desert, and the Syrians of Damascus, were all tributary to him. The encouragement given to commerce, and the enterprising spirit of Solomon, brought immense wealth into the country; and the arts and sciences were patronized and fostered by him. Many foreigners, and even sovereign princes, were attracted to Jerusalem to see and converse with its illustrious monarch. (1 Kings v. 9—14; x. 1—13.) The good order observable in all departments of the state — the systematic despatch of public business — the arrangements for security from foreign and domestic enemies — the splendid equipage and retinue of the king — the pomp and etiquette of his court — the army, the cavalry, the armories, the chariots, the palaces, the temple, the priesthood, and the effective administration of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, excited as much admiration as the wisdom and learning of the Jewish monarch. But these days were not to last long. Intestine feuds — foreign wars — the oppression and misrule of tyrannical princes — the idolatry and wickedness of the people, consummated by the rejection of the Messiah, involved them in a series of calamities, through a period of more than 900 years, to which history furnishes no parallel.

At the death of Solomon, the empire suffered a fearful paralysis. The rulers assembled at Shechem, the capital of the powerful tribe of Joseph, which had always been the jealous rival of Judah. They represented to Rehoboam, the heir to the throne, that the people were groaning under a weight of taxation, and wished to stipulate with him, that he should alleviate the burdens which Solomon, his father, had imposed upon them. Rehoboam required three days to deliberate on their proposal; and, at the expiration of that time, instead of granting their request, as the older and more prudent of his counsellors urged him to do, he rashly refused, and threatened to lay on them a heavier yoke, and to govern them in a more arbitrary manner than his father had done. This brought on the national crisis; ten of the tribes renounced their allegiance, and erected them-

selves into a separate kingdom under Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. The tribes of Benjamin and Judah, adhering to Rehoboam, formed what was afterwards called *the kingdom of Judah*, and of which Jerusalem was the metropolis. Jeroboam ruled over ten tribes, together with all the tributary nations as far as the Euphrates; and this was now called *the kingdom of Israel*. The kingdom of Judah comprised all the southern parts of the land, including the allotments of Benjamin and Judah, together with so much of the territories of Dan and Simeon as were intermixed with that of Judah. To this division also belonged Philistia and Edom; but the whole of the territory which now constituted the kingdom of Judah scarcely amounted to a fourth part of the dominions of Solomon.

It is remarkable that the kingdom of Israel had not so much as one pious king. The curse of Heaven followed the revolted tribes, and the kingdom they had set up, monarchs and people, were alike degenerate. Having departed from God, they were abandoned to idolatry and the worst of vices; and of nineteen kings who reigned in Israel, from Jeroboam, the first, to Hoshea, the last, the Scripture character appended to each is, that "he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin." The accumulated calamities that befell them in consequence of their crimes, failed to effect a general and permanent reformation. The impression produced by the repeated judgments of Jehovah was fitful as the morning cloud, and transient as the early dew. At length, in the reign of Hoshea, the measure of their iniquities being full, the wrath of an offended God came upon them to the uttermost, and they were given as a prey to the Assyrians. Hoshea, though not in all respects so degenerate as his predecessors, made no stand against idolatry; and his kingdom had been so rent and weakened by intestine broils during the nine years of anarchy that preceded his accession to the throne, that he was unable to withstand the Assyrian power. When, therefore, Shalmaneser invaded him, he was obliged to become tributary; but, about five years after, he imprudently attempted to shake off the yoke, and regain his independence. For this purpose, he formed an

alliance with So, king of Egypt, and imprisoned the Assyrian officer who was appointed to collect the tribute. Upon this, Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria, and after three years, during which the inhabitants suffered great privations, he gained possession of the city and destroyed it, carried away the king and people, and placed them "in Halah, (Chalachene,) and in Habor, by the river Gozan, (on the east side of the Tigris,) and in the cities of the Medes," where Tilgath-Pileser had placed their brethren eighteen years before. To supply the place of the expatriated Israelites, colonists were brought to Samaria from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. It appears also that Esar-haddon afterwards sent other colonists into this country. (Compare Ezra iv. 2, and 9, 10.) Thus was an end put to the kingdom of Israel, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, 722 years B. C., and 253 from its commencement under Jeroboam.

The kingdom of Judah, though greatly inferior in population and extent, survived that of Israel 134 years. It was favored with several pious monarchs, amongst whom were Asa, Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah; and, though guilty of frequent relapses into idolatry, and violations of the theocratic constitution, Judah was less uniform in wickedness than Israel, and there were intervals when both king and people "humbled themselves before the Lord, and prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers." During the last twenty-three years of the kingdom of Judah, little mention is made of idolatry in the historical books; but from the occasional notices of it by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, it is evident that at that time it had risen to a higher pitch than ever. (See the first ten chapters of Jeremiah. Ezek. viii. and xi.; xiv. 1—11; xvi. 1—63; xxiii. 1—48; xliv. 9, and other places.)

Repeated attempts were made during the reign of the good prince Josiah to purge out the old leaven of idolatry, and to bring back the people to the true worship of Jehovah. He aimed at a thorough reformation both of religion and morals; destroying not only the more modern seats and altars of idolatry, but also the ancient high places built by Solomon in the time of his apostasy, and the altar made by Jeroboam at Bethel

He extended his efforts for the disgracing and utter annihilating of the worship of idols, not only to the neighboring tribes of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh, but even to the distant tribe of Naphtali, and endeavored to render it an object of universal disgust and abhorrence. In the eighteenth year of his reign, while he was engaged in repairing the temple, the manuscript of the law of Moses, which had been lost, was found; and this circumstance materially aided Josiah in his pious endeavors to bring back the people to their allegiance to Jehovah, in which he was eminently successful. This good king was mortally wounded in a battle with Necho, king of Egypt, in the Plain of Esdraelon, near Megiddo.

After the death of Josiah, the kingdom of Judah hastened rapidly to ruin. The people raised to the throne Jehoahaz, the younger son of Josiah. After three months, Necho, king of Egypt, deposed him, made his kingdom tributary, and placed on the throne his elder brother Eliakim, to whom he gave the name of Jehoiakim. This unworthy son of Josiah was one of the worst kings that ever ruled over Judah. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon, having defeated the Egyptian army at Carchemish, (on the Euphrates,) marched against Jerusalem, which was then under the sovereignty of Egypt. After a short siege, Jehoiakim surrendered, but was again placed on the throne by the victorious prince. Nebuchadnezzar took some of the vessels and costly furniture of the temple as booty, and carried back with him to Babylon several young men, the sons of the principal Jewish nobles, among whom were Daniel and his three companions, to assist in the service of his court, and at the same time to answer the purpose of hostages. From this period, namely, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, (606 B. C.,) when the first captives were carried away to Babylon, the seventy years' captivity properly commences. (Jer. xxv. 1; xlvi. 2.)* Three years after, Jehoiakim, relying probably on

* Some reckon the commencement of the seventy years' captivity from the eleventh year of Zedekiah, when the city and temple were destroyed, and the entire population of the country,

assistance from Egypt, rebelled against Babylon, when an immense army, composed of the Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who were at that time subject to Babylon, marched against Jerusalem. In this war Jehoiakim was probably slain, and his dead body suffered to lie unburied, as Jeremiah had predicted. (Jer. xxii. 19; xxxvi. 30.) He was succeeded in the throne by his son Jehoiachin, or Jeconiah; but he retained it only three months. Though he surrendered to the besiegers, (the Chaldeans,) he was held a close prisoner. The wealth of the royal treasury, and the golden utensils of the temple procured by Solomon, were carried away to Babylon; and the captive king himself, his whole court, 2000 nobles and men of wealth, 7000 soldiers, 1000 artificers, amounting, probably, with their wives, children, and dependants, to forty or fifty thousand persons, were led into captivity to the river Chebar, (Chaboras,) in Mesopotamia. These captives constituted, in fact, the flower of the nation, which lost, by their removal, the stamina of its strength; scarcely any, except the lower classes of plebeians and rustics, being left behind. Nebuchadnezzar placed on the vacant throne of Judah, Mattaniah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, and gave him the name of Zedekiah. (2 Kings xxiv. 8—18. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5—8. Jer. xxii. 19; xxxvi. 30.)

Zedekiah solemnly swore allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar by the God of his fathers; but, notwithstanding this oath, in the

with the exception of a few husbandmen, were carried captives to Babylon. It is true, that from this era to the fourth of Darius Hystaspes, when a decree was issued in favor of the Jews, and for resuming the building of the temple, which had been stopped by the interdict of Smerdis the Magian, was exactly seventy years. But the Scripture account makes these seventy years to commence with the fourth of Jehoiakim, when the first captives were carried away, and to terminate in the first year of Cyrus, (536 B. C.,) when the first decree was issued for liberating the Jews, and rebuilding their city and temple. (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i.) — See Jahn's Hist. Hebrew Commonwealth, p. 56, and Mansford's Scripture Gazetteer, p. 212.

ninth year of his reign, misled by evil counsellors, he raised the standard of rebellion, and entered into an alliance with Pharaoh-hophra, king of Egypt. The enraged conqueror, with his powerful army, was again encamped before the walls of Jerusalem; and now commenced the most important and formidable siege which that city ever sustained, except that of Titus. It lasted two years, and during great part of that period the inhabitants suffered all the horrors of famine. At length the Chaldean army were victorious; the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, (July,) in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, the eighteenth of the Babylonish captivity, and 588 B. C. Zedekiah and the garrison endeavored to make their escape by night, but were pursued and defeated by the Chaldeans in the plain of Jericho. The king was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Nebuchadnezzar, who was encamped at Riblah, in the province of Hamath. He commanded Zedekiah's sons to be murdered before his face; and, after witnessing this sad spectacle, his eyes were put out, he was bound with fetters of brass, and conveyed to Babylon, where he was kept in prison till his death. Thus was fulfilled, to the very letter, the enigmatical prophecy of Ezekiel, that the king should be brought to Babylon, and should die there, but should not see the place. (Ezek. xii. 13; xvii. 13—21. Jer. xxxvii. 3—10. 2 Kings xxiv. 18—20; xxv. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11—17.) In the following month, Nebuzar-adan, the commander of the royal life-guard, was sent to complete the work of destruction. The walls and houses of Jerusalem were demolished; the fortifications thrown down; the gold, silver, and brass of the temple taken away; and that noble edifice, the sole remaining monument of the piety and munificence of Solomon, together with the whole city, was set on fire and utterly destroyed. The principal inhabitants, as the instigators of the revolt, were put to death at Riblah, and the rest were doomed to exile. (2 Kings xxv. 8—21. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17—21. Jer. lii. 12.) The entire population of the city and country, with the exception of a few husbandmen, were carried captives to Babylon. Four years after, in consequence of the murder of Gedaliah, (the Hebrew governor appointed by Nebuchadnezzar,) and the Chaldean

garrison, the few that remained, 745 in number, were taken away by Nebuzar-adan, and the land was entirely bereaved of its inhabitants. When the Assyrians depopulated Samaria, they filled up the blank by introducing colonists from that country. In the present instance, no such measure was taken; the Holy City was forsaken, the land lay unoccupied and desolate; and, although tribes of wandering Arabs passed through the country, and the Idumæans settled in some of the southern parts of it, and beasts of the forests made their lair amid the ruined monuments and deserted habitations of Judæa, yet all around was one vast scene of desolation — an awful, unbroken, instructive solitude — proclaiming, with silent yet impressive eloquence, the obstinate wickedness of man, and the vindicated majesty of Jehovah, — and reiterating the solemn truth, that "it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

To prevent a universal and final apostasy, by which Judah might have been sunk among the heathen nations, and all guaranty for the preservation of the knowledge of the true God have vanished from the world, the Babylonian power was raised up to be the scourge of Judah, the avenger of the insulted majesty of Jehovah, and the means of preparing the Hebrew people for the future designs of infinite wisdom and mercy

FALLEN is thy throne, O Israel.
Silence is on thy plains.
Thy dwellings all lie desolate;
Thy children weep in chains.
Where are the dews that fed thee
On Etham's barren shore?
That fire from heaven which led thee,
Now lights thy path no more!

Lord, thou didst love Jerusalem!
Once she was all thine own;
Her love thy fairest heritage,
Her power thy glory's throne.
Till evil came and blighted
Thy long-loved olive tree,
And Salem's shrines were lighted
For other gods than thee.

Then sank the star of Solyma;
Then passed her glory's day;
Like heath that in the wilderness
The wild wind whirls away.
Silent and waste her bowers
Where once the mighty trod,
And sunk those guilty towers
Where Baal reigned as God.

"Go," said the Lord, "ye conquerors!
Steep in her blood your swords;
And raze to earth her battlements,
For they are not the Lord's;
Tell Zion's mournful daughter,
O'er kindred bones she'll tread;
And Hinnom's hall of slaughter
Shall hide but half her dead."

But soon shall other pictured scenes
In brighter visions rise,
When Zion's sun shall sevenfold shine
O'er all her mourners' eyes;
And on her mountains, beauteous, stand
The messengers of peace;
"Salvation by the Lord's right hand!"
They shout, and never cease.

AN ORIENTAL JEW.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

The Seventy Years' Captivity—Condition of the Hebrews in Exile—The Decree of Cyrus—Return of the Jews, and rebuilding of the City and Temple—Conquests of Alexander.

The only sources of information concerning the condition and treatment of the Jews in their captivity are, the writings of the contemporary Prophets—Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel, and those Psalms which we have reason to believe were written during this period. (Psalms v. x. xiii. xiv. xv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. xxxvi. xxxvii. xlix. liii. lxvii. lxxvii. lxxx. lxxxix. xcii. xciii. cxxx. cxxxvii. and perhaps cxxiii.) It is evident, from these authentic records, that the captive Hebrews were not all equally implicated in the guilt of idolatry. There was among them "a remnant" of the true spiritual worshippers of Jehovah, who, in the midst of the general corruption, had steadfastly adhered to the pure principles of the theocracy; though they, in common with the rest, suffered in the national calamity. To others, it is probable, this awful visitation was so sanctified, as to bring them to reflection, and induce them to renounce that predominant sin which had entailed upon them such accumulated miseries. Some, it would seem, wished to blend the rites of idolatry with the mandates of the Mosaic law; they would not wholly renounce the former, and yet retained some degree of reverence for Jehovah; (Ezek. xx.;) they "feared the Lord, but served their own gods." It is certain, however, that they never, like other transplanted nations, intermingled with the people among whom they were settled, but continued a separate

race. There were, doubtless, individual exceptions, but the nation as such remained distinct. The amalgamation with pagans, and the consequent extinction of the Hebrews as a peculiar people, was prevented by the rite of circumcision, by the prohibition of various kinds of food allowed among the heathen, by ceremonial impurities, and by other institutions which were designed to segregate and preserve the posterity of Israel as a distinct and prominent nation. The presence of Daniel and Ezekiel was doubtless highly beneficial to the captives in Babylon and by the river Chebar, and had a tendency to preserve among them the knowledge and practice of the true religion. Authority and force were given to the exhortations of these holy men by the prophecies which had been so signally fulfilled, or were in course of accomplishment at that very time; especially the predictions respecting the downfall of the Assyrian empire, and of the city of Nineveh, the rapid rise and extension of the Babylonian monarchy, the overthrow of Tyre, the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequent captivity of the Jews. The striking fulfilment of these prophecies, in their minutest details, was calculated to exalt Jehovah in their estimation, and check their idolatrous propensities. Consequently, many of the ten tribes in Assyria, Halah, Gozan, and Media, were the sincere repentant worshippers of Jehovah; and it is difficult to conceive how the Jews in Babylon and by the river Chebar could relapse into idolatry, with the severe dictates of experience to admonish them of its evils, and while such men as Daniel and Ezekiel were continually and earnestly reminding them of that God who claimed their homage. Indeed, during the subjection of the Hebrews to the wholesome chastisement of a foreign yoke, God pursued them, so to speak, with the efficacious dealings of his providence, with miracles and prophecies, with judgments and mercies, in order to compel them to preserve the true religion, and to place them in a situation in which it would hardly be possible for them to exchange the worship of the Creator and Governor of the world for the worship of idols.

The estimation in which Daniel was held at the court of

Babylon, in consequence of his extraordinary prophetic endowments, and the station which he and his three friends occupied in the counsels of Nebuchadnezzar soon after their settlement in exile, must have had a favorable influence on the physical and political condition of the captive nation. The image which Nebuchadnezzar set up to the idol Bel, gave occasion, indeed, to the enemies of the Jews to seek the destruction of Daniel's three pious friends; though he himself, probably from his elevation to the highest office of the empire, appears to have escaped attack. The miraculous deliverance, however, of these three captives from the flames to which they had been condemned, and the mysterious appearance of a *fourth* and superhuman form in the furnace, gave a signal triumph to the Jewish religion over idolatry. The interpretation of the hand-writing upon the wall, by Daniel, in the reign of Belshazzar, was an additional proof of the supernatural power conferred upon him; which was exemplified immediately afterwards in the overthrow of the Chaldee-Babylonian empire by Cyrus. So insecure, however, were the religious liberties of the Hebrews, that Daniel himself, notwithstanding his miraculous powers, at length became the victim of the envy of the courtiers, on the pretext of disobedience to a royal decree, which they had procured in order to ensnare him, and which prohibited prayer to any deity for thirty days. But the wonderful deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den, much to the satisfaction of the king, was another triumph gained to the religion of the Jews. Darius, like his predecessor Nebuchadezzar, publicly proclaimed the greatness and majesty of Jehovah, and commanded all the subjects of his empire to reverence him. Nor could the marvellous events which had occurred in connexion with the captive Hebrews, fail to produce their effect on the mind of such a prince as Cyrus, their destined deliverer.*

The condition of the Hebrews while in captivity, was far from being one of abject wretchedness. This is

* Hoppus's Lectures on the Polity and History of the Hebrews.

manifest from the circumstance that a pious Hebrew prophet held the first office at the court of Babylon,—that three devout friends of this prophet occupied important political stations,—and that Jehoiachin, the former king of Judah, in the forty-fourth year of the captivity, was released from an imprisonment which had continued for thirty-six years, and was preferred in point of rank to all the kings who were then at Babylon, either detained as hostages, or present for the purpose of paying their homage to the Chaldee monarch. He was treated as the first of the kings; he ate at the table of his conqueror; and received an annual allowance corresponding to his regal dignity. From these circumstances of honor a splendor must have been reflected back on all the exiles, so that they could neither be ill treated, nor despised, nor very much oppressed. They were probably viewed as respectable colonists, who enjoyed the peculiar protection of the sovereign. In the respect paid to Jehoiachin, his son Shealtiel, and his grand-son Zerubbabel undoubtedly partook. If that story of the discussion before Darius, in which Zerubbabel is said to have won the prize, be a mere fiction, it is at least very probable that the young prince, if he held no office, had free access to the court,—a privilege which must have afforded him many opportunities of alleviating the unhappy circumstances of his countrymen. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that when Cyrus gave the Hebrews permission to return to their own country, many, and perhaps even a majority of the nation, chose to remain behind, believing that they were more pleasantly situated where they were than what they would be in Judea. It is not improbable that the exiles (as is implied in the story of Susannah, and as the tradition of the Jews affirms,) had magistrates and a prince from their own number. Jehoiachin, and after him Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, might have been regarded as their princes, in the same manner as Jozadak and Jeshua were, as their high-priests.

At the same time it cannot be denied that their humiliation, as a people punished by their God, was always extremely painful, and frequently drew on them expressions

of contempt. The peculiarities of their religion afforded many opportunities for the ridicule and scorn of the Babylonians and Chaldeans, a striking example of which is given in the profanation of the sacred vessels of the temple. (Daniel v.) By such insults they would be made to feel so much the more sensibly the loss of their homes, their gardens, and fruitful fields, the burning of their capital and temple, and the cessation of the public solemnities of their religion. Under such circumstances, it is not strange that an inspired minstrel breaks out into severe imprecations against the scornful foes of his nation. (Psalm cxxxvii.)

If the Israelites were ill-treated in Assyria after the overthrow of Sennacherib in Judea, as the book of Tobit intimates, this calamity was of short duration, for Sennacherib was soon after assassinated. The Israelites of Media appear to have been in a much better condition, since Tobit advised his son to remove thither. (Tobit xiv. 4, 12, 13.) This is the more probable, as the religion of the Medes was not grossly idolatrous, and bore considerable resemblance to the Jewish. Even allowing that the worship of Ormuzd and of guardian angels is not more ancient than Zoroaster, this celebrated reformer made his appearance between sixty and a hundred years after the arrival of the Israelites in Media. In the Zend-Avesta it is often mentioned that the reformation of Zoroaster took place under Guspasp, that is, Cyaxeres I., who reigned from 642 to 603 B. C., and the Israelites first went to Media, 722 B. C. But the first principles of the religion of Zoroaster are undoubtedly far more ancient, for he himself does not announce his doctrines as new, but as the ancient religion purified from abuses. This seems to be confirmed by the fact, that in the army of Nebuchadnezzar there was found a *Rabmag*, the Desturan Destur of Zoroaster, that is, a chief of the magi or mobeds. (Jer. xxxix. 3.) Consequently this religion had extended to Babylon as early as 587 B. C. Moreover, at this early period it had penetrated even to Jerusalem, and in the reign of Josiah, who came to the throne 642 B. C. and, consequently, before Zoroaster began to publish his doctrines in

Media, there is mention made of the Persian chariots of the sun, and horses of the sun at Jerusalem.

In the year 539 B. C., Babylon was taken by Cyrus, who was then acting as commander-general of his uncle Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares II. On the death of Darius, two years after, Cyrus became king of the united empire of the Medes and Persians; and the captive Hebrews fell universally under his government. This great prince was the divinely appointed and predicted instrument of their restoration; and the same year which saw him ascend the throne, (536 B. C.,) was the last of the captivity. It had been foretold by Isaiah, (xliv. 28; xlv. 1—4,) that their deliverance should be effected by Cyrus. Accordingly, in the first year of his reign, he issued a proclamation throughout his empire, by a herald and by a written order, that all the Hebrew captives, without exception, were at liberty to return to the land of their fathers, and to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. This general permission extended to the ten tribes in Assyria, Halah, Gozan, and Media, as well as to the Jews at Chebar and Babylon. As a proof of the sincerity and generosity of Cyrus in making this offer, he gave up to the returning exiles all the gold and silver vessels of the temple, which had been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar, amounting to 5,400, (Ezra i. 7—11,) and directed that the expense of its erection should be defrayed from the royal treasury; which decree was recorded in a written edict found fifteen years after in the archives of his palace at Ecbatana. (Ezra vi. 1—5.) The procuring of a decree so propitious, is doubtless attributable, under the workings of Divine Providence, to the influence and efforts of Daniel, who stood as high in favor with the Persian monarchs as he had done with the Chaldeans. Josephus affirms, that Daniel showed to Cyrus the prophecies of Isaiah referring to him, and that it was the manifest supernatural foreknowledge evinced by these predictions, which were pronounced long before his birth, that induced this monarch so readily to grant the request of his favorite courtier. This is by no means an arbitrary conjecture; it is supported by the preamble to the edict

of liberation. "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia: Jehovah, the God of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah." (Ezra i. 2.) How could Cyrus have known this, if he had never read the prophecy of Isaiah?

In furtherance of the king's design, Zerubbabel, grandson of King Jehoiachin, and Jeshua, a grandson of the high-priest Jozadak, assisted by ten of the principal elders, made preparations for the journey. They were joined by 42,360 of the people, whose servants amounted to 7,337, making together nearly 50,000. This, according to the usual mode of computation, is the number of the men, exclusive of women and children; and it is so stated in Nehem. vii. 7. (Compare Ezra ii. 64, 65; Nehem. vii. 66, 67.) The whole caravan probably amounted at least to 150,000 persons. Many, however, had so far lost their Hebrew feelings and predilections, that they preferred remaining in the land of their exile, where some of them had obtained comfortable settlements, and where most of them had been born. Those who wished to return, assembled at an appointed place, according to the usual method of collecting a caravan, and furnished themselves with provisions and other things necessary for their journey. Their camels, horses, and beasts of burden amounted to 8,136. Zerubbabel, the director of the caravan, received the sacred utensils which had been restored, and the donations towards the building of the temple from those who remained behind; and he was appointed by Cyrus, governor of Judea. Several months were consumed in preparation for the journey. Encumbered as they were with women, children, and other baggage, they were obliged to travel slowly, and their homeward journey occupied four months. (Ezra i. 8—11; ii. 63—67; vi. 7; vii. 9.) They could not, therefore, have arrived in Judea before the close of the first year of Cyrus; that is, precisely at the termination of the seventieth year of the captivity, and the fifty-second after the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar.

Here it may be right to inquire, whether this return was restricted to the remnant of Judah, or were inclusive also of the ten tribes, or people of Israel. It has been *conjectured* that many Israelites joined the caravan of Zerubbabel, and that others subsequently attached themselves here and there to a caravan of merchants, and proceeded to Palestine. Some have even gone so far as to assert, that the ten elders with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, were the princes of the twelve tribes, and that the 12,542, the excess of the grand total given by Ezra, (ii. 64,) above the actual sum of the several numbers mentioned in the preceding verses, (3—63,) were all Israelites. It is, however, a hazardous practice, to travel beyond the inspired record, and substitute human conjecture for historic evidence. That the decree of Cyrus extended to all the captive Hebrews there can be no doubt, and that some individuals of the ten tribes availed themselves of the royal license is not improbable; but that the main body, or any considerable number of them, returned with Zerubbabel, is by no means clear. The sacred historians, in their very minute and circumstantial accounts of the return from Babylon, make no mention, direct or indirect, of any but the people of Judah. There are several passages which strongly intimate that this restoration was exclusively limited to the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin. "Then rose up the chief of the fathers *of Judah and Benjamin*, and the priests, and the Levites, with all them whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem." (Ezra i. 5.) "Now these are the children of the province that went up out of the captivity, of those which had been carried away, *whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had carried away unto Babylon*, and came again *unto Jerusalem and Judah*, every one unto his city." (Ch. ii. 1.) On the supposition that the Assyrian captives were included in the return from Babylon, it is difficult to account for the entire silence of Ezra and Nehemiah concerning them. They describe with great precision almost every incident connected with that event. The names of the elders and hands of families—the number which each family con

tained—the sum of the whole—the various preparations for the journey—the number of singers, servants, horses, and camels, are carefully specified; and it is hardly possible that an event of such magnitude and moment as the return of ten tribes, should be inadvertently omitted from the narration. The probability is, that the Israelites, after an absence of more than two hundred years, had lost all patriotic attachment to the land of their fathers, and, therefore, felt no inclination to relinquish the advantages they then enjoyed for the prospect of an uncertain good in Palestine. We must, therefore, look for the fulfilment of those prophecies which foretell the return of the whole nation, the re-union of Judah and Israel, their pre-eminent piety and permanently national prosperity, to the development of events yet future.

The pious remnant that returned with Zerubbabel were no sooner settled amidst their ancient desolations, than they assembled at Jerusalem to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles, erected the altar of burnt-offering amid the ruins of the temple, and resumed their customary sacrifices. Early in the second year after their return, they proceeded to lay the foundations of the new temple with great solemnity. Joyful as this occasion was to the younger colonists, who gave expression to their feelings in shouts of exultation, the old people, who had seen the temple of Solomon in all its glory, perceiving that the new edifice would be greatly inferior to its noble original, wept aloud. The voice of mourning was blended with the songs of thanksgiving; "so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people." (Ezra iii. 10—13.) It appears, indeed, from the record found by Darius, (Ezra vi. 3,) that Cyrus had directed a sanctuary to be built of twice the dimensions of Solomon's Temple; but, either the Jews out of modesty chose not to avail themselves of the favor of the monarch to its full extent, or were fearful lest they should excite the envy of the worshippers of Ormuzd, and thereby expose themselves to persecution. Accordingly, this second erection was neither so large, so magnificent, nor so highly ornamented as that of Solomon. (Ezra iii.

12, 13. Compare Haggai ii. 1—10. Ezra vi. 3. 1 Kings vi 2.)

The Samaritans, who were a mixed race, consisting of Assyrian colonists intermarried with the remnant of the ten tribes, still dwelt in the country, and practised a kind of mongrel idolatry; enrolling Jehovah among their other deities, and worshipping him under the form of the golden calves. These people offered to assist the Jews in building the temple; but, their offer being declined, they made every possible exertion to thwart and oppose the work. Though they could not induce Cyrus to revoke his decree, yet, by secret machinations and open hostilities, they threw so many obstacles in the way that the people were dispirited, and the work proceeded heavily. (Ezra iv.) This gave rise to an enmity between the Jews and the Samaritans, which, strengthened by future provocations, at length terminated all friendly intercourse, (John iv. 9,) and has continued with more or less virulence to the present day.

The temple remained in an unfinished state during the remainder of the reign of Cyrus, and throughout the reigns of Cambyses and Smerdis—a period of about fourteen years. When Darius Hystaspes ascended the throne, there was nothing to prevent its completion but the lethargic indifference of the Jews themselves. A general apathy had taken possession of them, and they excused themselves for not prosecuting the work by saying, "the time is not come." Because sixty-seven years only had elapsed since the destruction of the temple, and they would reckon a period of seventy years, according to the duration of the captivity, they concluded that "the set time to favor Zion" was not yet arrived. Hence while they were erecting splendid dwellings for themselves, embellishing their apartments with tasteful decorations, and dwelling at ease in their "ceiled houses," the house of God lay waste. In the second year of Darius, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were raised up, whose powerful appeals and rebukes roused the people from their lethargy, and the work was once more resumed. (Ezra v. 1. Hag. i. 1—15.) Upon this, Tatnai, the Persian governor

west of the Euphrates, demanded to know by what authority the building was undertaken. They referred him to the decree of Cyrus, and he immediately wrote to Darius to have the affair investigated. Darius ordered search to be made in the royal archives at Achmetha, (Ecbatana;) and the important document being found, Darius sent a copy of it to Tatnai, together with a letter, commanding him not to obstruct the building, but zealously to forward it, to defray the expenses from the royal treasury, and also to supply the priests with such animals as were necessary for the sacrifices, with wheat, salt, wine, and oil, from day to day, for the Divine service, "that they might offer sacrifices to the God of heaven, and pray for the welfare of the king, and of his sons." He further commanded that whoever obstructed the execution of this decree, should be crucified and his house demolished; and he added an imprecation on all kings and people who should attempt to destroy the new temple. At length, in the sixth year of Darius, on the third day of the month Adar, (March,) and about nineteen years after laying the foundation, the sacred edifice was completed. It was then dedicated with festive solemnities to the worship of Jehovah; on which occasion they "offered one hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin-offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel." (Ezra iv. v. and vi.) This temple, though inferior in size and external magnificence to that reared by Solomon, was destined, according to the prediction of Haggai, to excel it in glory, inasmuch as it was to be honored by the presence and personal ministry of the Messiah.

Artaxerxes, (or Ahasuerus,) who succeeded Darius Hystaspes, confirmed to the Jews all the privileges granted by his predecessors. He made Mordecai, the Jew, his prime minister, and Esther, a Jewess, his queen; and in the seventh year of his reign, appointed Ezra, a descendant of the family of Aaron, governor of Jerusalem. He also issued a new proclamation, inviting all the Hebrews in his dominion to return to their native land; and, to induce the

priests and Levites to settle at Jerusalem, he ordained that all who were employed in the service of the temple should be exempted from tribute. Ezra was armed with full powers to rectify all abuses in church and state, to reform the institutions of religion, to enforce the observance of the law, and to punish the refractory with fines, imprisonment, banishment, or death. Thus commissioned, he proceeded with a caravan of sixteen houses, amounting probably to about six thousand persons, to join his brethren in Palestine. After a journey of three months and a half, they arrived at Jerusalem; the vessels and treasures that had been sent from Babylon were deposited in the temple; the newly returned Hebrews offered a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the God of their fathers; and the Persian governors west of the Euphrates accredited Ezra's commission, and readily assisted him in prosecuting its objects.

Under the wise and pious administration of Ezra, and of his successor Nehemiah, a great reformation was effected in morals and religion, the languid commonwealth was invigorated, and, notwithstanding the malicious opposition of the Samaritans, the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, the men working with an implement in one hand, and a weapon of war in the other; after which the city itself gradually rose to magnitude and affluence.

The Jews were now living under their own laws and religion; the affairs of both church and state assumed a more settled and encouraging aspect; and from this time, they enjoyed, during a period of nearly three hundred years, almost uninterrupted prosperity—governed by their high-priests, although subject to the kings of Persia, until the overthrow of that empire by Alexander.

This great scourge of the world, the son and successor of Philip, king of Macedon, having vanquished the Persian army at Issus, in the narrow passes leading from Syria to Cilicia, at length came into the neighborhood of Judea, with slaughter, fire, and victory in his train. Damascus, the capital of Syria, was taken; Sidon had surrendered; Tyre was laid in ashes; and all the inhabitants of Gaza were either

put to death, or sold for slaves. This extraordinary conqueror visited Jerusalem with the intention of consigning it to a similar fate; but was strangely diverted from his purpose, and induced to show the Jews great favor. Josephus has given an account of this transaction too singular and interesting to be omitted.

He says, that when Alexander was besieging Tyre, he sent a letter to Jaddua, the Jewish high-priest, "To send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high-priest returned for answer, that "He had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him, and he would not break it while Darius was in the land of the living." On receiving this answer, Alexander, unused to remonstrance, was greatly enraged; and threatened, that as soon as he could leave Tyre, which was near falling into his hands, he would visit the high-priest in such a manner, as should teach all men, through him, to whom they were to keep their oaths. The siege of that city being shortly after brought to a successful termination, Alexander set out on his march for Jerusalem, designing to make an example of the priest and the city which had dared to disobey his commands. In this distress, Jaddua, who, as well as high-priest, was governor of the Jews under the Persian king, assembled the people, and ordered them to join with him in making sacrifices and supplications to the Almighty to protect them from the imminent danger which threatened them. After these acts of devotion, it pleased God to direct Jaddua, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests in their proper vestments, and all the people in white garments; not doubting the deliverance which should be effected for them. Jaddua, accordingly, having the next day got ready the sacred procession as instructed, awaited the approach of Alexander; and when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out to meet him at a place called Sapha, an eminence without Je-

rusalem, which commanded a prospect of the whole country, to which place the procession extended the whole way from Jerusalem. As soon as Alexander saw this dazzling spectacle—the white garments of the multitude shining in the sun, the priests clothed in fine linen, and the pontiff in purple and scarlet, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate on which the name of God was engraved—he was struck with awe, adored that Name, and saluted the high-priest. The Jews at the same time surrounded Alexander, and saluted him. The kings and others in the train of Alexander were so astonished at this act, and the sudden, and to them inexplicable alteration of his purpose, that they supposed him disordered in his mind. Parmenio alone, his favorite general, ventured to go up to him, and to ask, "How it came to pass, that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews?" To which Alexander replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who has honored him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios, in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and give me the dominion over the Persians: whence it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the Divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to my own mind." After he had thus explained his conduct on this extraordinary occasion, he gave his right hand to the high-priest, and entered Jerusalem with him in a friendly manner; where he offered sacrifices to God in the temple, according to the directions of the high-priest, who afterwards showed him the prophecies of Daniel, which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king; when, satisfied that he was the person meant, he departed in assurance of success in his future wars; having

granted the Jews the free enjoyment of their laws and religion, and exempted them every seventh year from paying any tribute, as in that year they neither sowed nor reaped.*

CHAPTER II.

Persecutions by Antiochus Epiphanes—The War of Independence—Subjugation of Judea by the Romans—Invasion by the Parthians—Antigonus—Defeat of Antigonus, and Accession of Herod to the Throne of Judea.

At the death of Alexander, Judea, owing to its intermediate position, was exposed to the violent collisions which took place among the crumbling ruins of his vast but ephemeral empire. On the partition of his dominions amongst his generals, Jerusalem, with the whole of Syria and Palestine, was allotted to Laomedon, one of Alexander's officers; from whom, however, those districts were wrested shortly after by Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt. In the frequent wars which followed between the kings of Syria and those of Egypt, called by Daniel the kings of the north and south, Judea belonged sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other; the passive victim of the oscillations of fortune. This unsettled and turbulent period proved highly favorable to disorder and corruption; crime and pillage were everywhere rampant; law and order were set at defiance; the high-priesthood was openly sold to the highest bidder; and numbers of the Jews deserted their religion for the idolatries of the Greeks. Having been so long under the dominion of Grecian monarchs, they had now become familiar with the

* For an able defence of the credibility of this account, see *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, par M. de Sante-Croix;* and Jahn's Hist. of the Hebrew Commonwealth, p. 80.

customs, literature, and sciences of Greece, and had acquired a taste for them. Some even began to look on the idolatrous mythology of the Greeks with a favorable eye, and endeavored to obliterate their Jewish peculiarities.

Soon after Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne of Syria, vigorous efforts were made to bring over the Jewish people altogether to the Grecian manners and religion. The author of this project was Jesus, a brother of the high-priest Onias III. He assumed the Greek name Jason, and basely supplanted his brother in the high-priesthood, which he purchased of the king for three thousand six hundred talents. He also offered one hundred and fifty talents for the right of establishing a Greek gymnasium at Jerusalem, and the power of conferring upon the Jews the citizenship of Antioch. The design of these innovations was to undermine the ancient religion of his country, and graft paganism on its ruins. For three years he labored hard to destroy the Jewish constitution, and assimilate his countrymen to the habits and usages of the Greeks.

In the year 172 B. C. he commissioned his younger brother Onias, who had adopted the Greek name of Menelaus, to carry the tribute to Antioch, and transact other business with the king. But Menelaus, instead of executing his commission, took this opportunity to supplant his brother; and, by promising the king three hundred talents more than the tribute paid by Jason, obtained a nomination to the high-priesthood. This traitor, having solemnly abjured the religion of his fathers, and engaged to abolish the Mosaic and establish the Grecian religion in its stead, was furnished by the king with a force sufficient to expel Jason from the country. Menelaus plundered the temple, in order to meet his engagements with the king. This led to a tumult, in which Lysimachus, the agent of Menelaus, was put to death by the enraged populace in the treasury of the temple. To the venality and utter want of principle displayed by these usurpers of the priesthood, may be ascribed most of the calamities inflicted upon the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. Whilst that prince was engaged in the siege of Alexandria,

a report was spread abroad in Palestine that he was dead. Upon this, Jason, with one thousand Ammonites, made an attack upon Jerusalem, took possession of the city, and mercilessly slaughtered the citizens who had opposed him; while Menelaus secured himself in the castle of Zion. Antiochus hearing of this, and enraged at the Jews for rejoicing at the false report of his death, hastened to Jerusalem, took it by force plundered the city, slew eighty thousand persons, men, women, and children—took forty thousand prisoners, and sold as many into slavery. As if this were not enough, conducted by the traitor Menelaus, he entered the sanctuary, uttering blasphemy against God. He plundered the temple of all its gold and silver furniture,—the golden altar, the candlestick, the table, the pouring vessels, the vials, the censers, and all the ornaments; and, that he might leave nothing behind, he searched the subterranean vaults, and in this manner collected and carried away one thousand eight hundred talents of gold. He then sacrificed swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the water in which part of the flesh had been boiled over the floor of the temple; thus pouring contempt on the Jewish rites, and bidding defiance to the God of heaven. Just two years after, (167 B. C.,) he sent Apollonius into Judea with an army of twenty-two thousand men, and commanded him to kill all the Jews who were of full age, and to sell the women and young men for slaves. (2 Mac. v. 24, 25.)

These orders were too punctually executed. On the first Sabbath after his arrival, he sent out his soldiers with orders to cut down all the able-bodied men whom they met, and to capture the women and children. Great multitudes were slain; their houses were set on fire or pulled down; and the city walls demolished. The castle was strengthened and garrisoned with troops; and, as it commanded the temple, the Jews were unable to attend public worship. The sanctuary was defiled with blood; the miserable inhabitants of the city fled; and the sacrifices ceased, after having been offered, without interruption, during three hundred and sixty-nine years since the return from Babylon. It was on this

occasion that Judas Maccabæus retired into the wilderness with his father and his brethren. (2 Mac. v. 29.)

These misfortunes were but preludes of what they were to suffer; for Antiochus, apprehending that the Jews would never be constant in their fidelity to him, unless he compelled them to change their religion and conform to that of the Greeks, issued an edict, forbidding their sacrifices, their festivals, the temple-service, and the observance of the Sabbath, and commanding them to worship idols, and to acknowledge no religion but that of the king. The statue of Jupiter Olympius was set up on the altar, and a smaller altar was erected upon it to be used in sacrificing to the heathen gods; thus "the abomination that maketh desolate" was seen in the temple of God. (Dan. xi. 31.) Circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath, and every other observance of the law, were now made capital offences. All the copies of the sacred books that could be found were taken away, defaced, torn in pieces, or burnt. Groves were planted, idolatrous altars built in every city, and the people were required to offer sacrifices to the heathen gods, and to eat swine's flesh every month on the birth-day of the king; and, at the feast of Bacchus, they were commanded to be crowned with ivy, and walk in procession. All who refused to obey these orders were put to death without mercy. Two women, with their infant children, whom they had circumcised with their own hands, were thrown from the battlements on the south side of the temple into the awful abyss below. Officers were sent into all the towns, attended by bands of soldiers, to compel obedience to the royal edict; and never before had the Jews been subjected to so cruel a persecution. At Antioch, the venerable scribe Eleazer, and the pious mother with her seven sons, were put to death with the most cruel tortures. (2 Mac. vi. and vii.) On another occasion about one thousand men, who had concealed themselves in a cave not far from Jerusalem, were massacred on the Sabbath without offering the least resistance.

These enormities at length roused the slumbering spirit of the nation, and fanned the smouldering embers of indepen

dence into the flame of rebellion. Mattathias* and his sons had fled to the mountains; there they were joined by those Jews who still held their insulted religion in reverence. This heroic man, the father of five sons equally eminent for piety and resolution, encouraged the people, by his example and exhortations, to "stand up for the law," and shake off the yoke of their oppressors; and, having collected a valiant band of about six thousand men, undertook to free Judea from the despotism of Syria, and restore the worship of the God of Israel. Putting himself at the head of his adherents, Mattathias emerged from his concealment—went through the Jewish cities—demolished the idolatrous altars—circumcised the children—slew the Syrian officers and the apostate Jews—recovered from the Syrians the copies of the law which had not yet been destroyed—and laid the foundation of a still more organized and effective revolution; but being very old when he entered upon this arduous enterprise, he did not live to see its completion. At his death (165 B. C.) he appointed Judas, his third and bravest son, military leader; and associated with him Simon, his second and more prudent son, as a counsellor. Judas, on account of his heroic exploits and high daring, received the surname of Maccabæus (MAKABI, the Hammerer.) He is, however, most generally supposed to have derived this name from a cabalistic word, formed of M. C. B. I. the initial letters of the Hebrew text, M*i Chamokr* B*aelim Jehovah*, *i. e. who among the gods is like unto thee, O Jehovah?* (Exod. xv. 11:) which letters might have been displayed on his sacred standard, as the letters S. P. Q. R. (S*enatus* P*opulus* Q*ue* R*omanus*) were on the Roman ensigns.†

After defeating the Syrians in several successive hard-fought battles, and taking possession of the most important

* Mattathias was surnamed Asmon, whence was derived the appellation Asmonæans, borne by the line of princes descended from him, who so valiantly conducted and brought to a successful issue the Jewish war of independence.

† Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 599.

fortresses, he drove them out of the country. He then proceeded to repair and purify the temple, which was in a dilapidated and desolate condition. The gates and the priests' apartments had been pulled down, and the once-frequented courts were deserted and grass-grown. Judas purified the sacred enclosure by removing every vestige of heathenism. The altar, having been defiled by idolatry, was taken away, and a new one erected; new utensils were also provided for the sacred service; the sacrifices were resumed; and the temple restored to the pure worship of Jehovah, after exactly three years' defilement by the Gentile idolatries. A sacred festival was held for eight days, with great rejoicings; and it was resolved to celebrate an annual feast in commemoration of this event.

The arms of Judas, and of his brother Simon, were still successful, whether employed to repress the outrages and incursions of the Idumæans, the Baianites, and Ammonites, or to punish the Syro-Phœnicians, and the nations eastward of the Jordan, who confederated to destroy the Jews of Galilee and Gilead. Judas Maccabæus was slain in battle, and his brother Jonathan succeeded him in the government. He was also made high-priest, and from that time the Asmonæan princes united the princedom and the pontifical dignity in their own persons. They were so successful, by their valor and address, that in a few years they not only threw off the Syrian yoke, and recovered the independence of their country, but also regained almost all the possessions of the twelve tribes, destroyed the celebrated Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been dedicated to Jupiter Xenios,* subdued the Idumæans and Ituræans, made themselves respected by all the neighboring nations, and secured the favor and friendship of the Roman senate. In the year 143 B. C., Demetrius Nicator, the reigning king of Syria, relinquished

* Jupiter Xenios, (*the protector of strangers,*) so called because the Samaritans, in their letter to Antiochus, had declared that they were not Jews but *strangers,* and that they were willing to renounce Judaism and adopt the polytheism of the Greeks.

all future claims on Judea for tribute, publicly acknowledged Simon as prince and high-priest of the Jews, and solicited his friendship. Thus, after a war of a quarter of a century, carried on with several successive kings of Syria, this illustrious family succeeded in subduing their tyrannical oppressors, and established the independence of Judea. A general assembly was held at Jerusalem, (141 B. C.,) in which the people, out of gratitude to the house of Mattathias, made both the regency and the high-priesthood hereditary in the family of Simon. This decree of the assembly was engraved on plates of copper, and fixed to a monument erected in the temple. (1 Mac. xiv. 25—49.) Simon was treacherously assassinated in the castle of Jericho by his own son-in-law, Ptolemy, who aimed at the sovereignty. His ambitious design was, however, defeated by the accession of Hyrcanus. At his death, Hyrcanus left the princedom to his wife ; but Aristobulus, his oldest son, soon usurped the government, and, as his mother refused to relinquish her claim, he threw her into prison, where she died of starvation.

He also imprisoned his three younger brothers ; and having by these violent measures seated himself in the government, he assumed the diadem and the regal title, and was proclaimed King of the Jews ; thus uniting the supreme sovereignty with the priesthood—an event which had been predicted by Zechariah four hundred years before. (Zech. vi. 9—15.) This dignity was enjoyed by his successors forty-two years, when, a dispute having arisen between Hyrcanus II. and his brother Aristobulus, the sons of Alexander Jaddæus, relative to the succession of the crown, both parties applied to the Romans to decide the quarrel. Scaurus, the Roman general, suffered himself to be bribed by Aristobulus, and placed him on the throne. Not long after, Pompey came to Damascus, and ordered the rival brothers to appear before him. Each of them brought witnesses to attest his claim, while others protested against them both, and accused them of having violated the national constitution, and perpetrated other enormities. Pompey deferred giving a final decision, and Aristobulus retired in high dud-

geon, to make further preparations for war. Pompey considered this as a favorable opportunity for reducing Palestine under the power of the Romans. Accordingly, he marched his army into Judea; Aristobulus was taken prisoner, but his party took refuge in the temple, and defended themselves with great bravery for three months. At length a breach was made, and the temple taken. Twelve thousand Jews were put to the sword, including many priests; for the calamities of the siege had not been allowed to interrupt the daily service, and the appointed rites were going on as though nothing had happened, even at the moment when the murderous Romans were rushing into the temple; so that the priests were slain in the very act of burning incense and presenting offerings to Jehovah, and their blood was mingled with the sacrifices. Pompey created Hyrcanus High-priest and Prince of the Jews, but would not allow him to take the title of king

By this event, Judea was reduced to the condition of a province of the Roman empire, in the year 63 B. C. Julius Cæsar having defeated Pompey, confirmed Hyrcanus in the priesthood, but changed the form of the civil government from a monarchy to an oligarchical republic. (54 B. C.) Judea was divided into five cantons or provinces; each of which had an executive council appointed for its government. Thus was established the vassal aristocracy of the Jews, which lasted about ten years.

On Cæsar's return from his expedition in Egypt, (44 B.C.) in which the troops sent by Hyrcanus had been of eminent service to him, he dissolved the aristocracy, reinstated Hyrcanus in all his former dignity, and allowed him to resume his former title of Prince of the Jews. Antipater was made procurator of Judea, his eldest son, Phasael, was appointed governor of Jerusalem, and his next son, Herod, governor of Galilee. Shortly after, Antigonus, son of the late king, Aristobulus II., invaded the country, with a view to obtain his father's throne. In this attempt, he was assisted by his relative the prince of Chalcis, by the king of Tyre, and also by the Parthians, then rising into a formidable power, and

contending with the Romans for the empire of the East. Hyrcanus and Phasael were made prisoners by this people, but Herod contrived to escape, and fled to Rome. His cause was warmly espoused by Mark Antony, who, with the concurrence of Octavius and the Roman senate, made him sole ruler of Judea, with the title of king : (37 B. C.:) which title was afterwards confirmed by Augustus. When Herod arrived in Judea, the Parthians having placed Antigonus on the throne, had evacuated Syria, and retired across the Euphrates. The crown of Palestine was now sharply contested between Herod and Antigonus ; and, for the space of three years, ths unhappy country became once more the theatre of a sanguinary intestine war. The miseries attending it were considerably aggravated by the venality and duplicity of some of the Roman generals who were sent to assist Herod; by the fury which they and their soldiers vented against the Jews ; and by the fierce and unequal conflicts which Herod had to maintain with the banditti that infested the mountainous districts of Galilee, who were so numerous that they formed a regular army, and engaged in pitched battles, plundering and ravaging the neighboring country. While the contest for the throne was still undecided, Herod married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of King Aristobulus, by Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus II. By this opportune alliance with the Asmonæan family, so highly esteemed by the Jews as the authors of their former independence, Herod hoped to secure their good will and confidence. After several campaigns, attended with various success on both sides, Herod, assisted by the Syrian and Roman army, attacked Antigonus at Jerusalem. The Roman troops amounted to eleven legions, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, and six thousand cavalry. But notwithstanding all the exertions of so numerous an army, the city was not taken till the following year, (34 B. C.) So enraged were the Romans by the obstinate defence of the city, and so furious were the Jews of Herod's party against those of Antigonus, that when all resistance had ceased, the besiegers followed up their victory by universal pillage, and an indis-

criminate and exterminating massacre; so that Herod repeatedly asked Sosius, the Roman general, whether he intended to leave him "king of a desert?" and, in order to stay the massacre, and save the city from total destruction, was compelled to pay him a large sum of money. Antigonus was sent to Antioch, and there beheaded by order of Antony, with whom ended the line of Asmonæan priests and princes, after they had held the government, independently, and under the Romans, upwards of a century.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Herod the Great—Archelaus—Herod Antipas—Herod Philip—King Agrippa—Agrippa the Tetrarch—Pontius Pilate—Antonius Felix—Porcius Festus—Albinus—Gessius Florus.

The civil war having terminated in the destruction of the Asmonæan dynasty and the ascension of Herod to the throne, placed Judea under a cruel and sanguinary despotism. The new king, who had previously been the object of great dislike to the nation, rendered himself every day more detestable and more detested by his heartless cruelties. Magnificent in his notions of royalty; endowed with great talents and enterprise; successful in his schemes of ambition, and possessing a plausible and specious exterior, he acquired the surname of *the Great;* but his deep duplicity—his restless jealousy—his want of all natural affection—his cold-blooded, revolting, murderous selfishness—his slavery to furious passions—his readiness to sacrifice every claim, and every obligation, to his ideas of state policy, and his love of power—have made his name a by-word for base, reckless, and unbridled despotism; and mark him out in the page of history, as worthy to be ranked among the Caligulas and Neros of Rome.

Herod began his reign by seizing on the treasures of the wealthy, in order to furnish himself with the means of purchasing the future services of Antony, and his other friends. He also put to death all the members of the Sanhedrim, or Great Council, excepting Pollio and Sameas, who were his partisans. Ananel, a Babylonish Jew, without influence to render him formidable to a tyrant, was appointed high-priest; and Hyrcanus, who, in consequence of his having been maimed, could no longer claim that office, was insidiously inveigled to Jerusalem from the east, in order that no danger might arise from that quarter to the usurped throne, and that the aged ex-king and priest might be within the immediate reach of the fangs of the royal monster. At the earnest entreaty of Mariamne, and by the agency of her mother Alexandra, Ananel was deposed from the priesthood; and Aristobulus, Mariamne's brother, a youth seventeen years of age, was placed in his stead. This appointment gratified the people, in consequence of their regard for the Asmonæan family; but Herod, who could not endure even the shadow of a rival, was soon stung with envy and jealousy at the popularity of the youthful high-priest, and basely contrived that he should be drowned while bathing, which was effected by the royal servants holding him under water, as if in sport. Herod, with the most consummate hypocrisy, pretended great sorrow for the event, and made for his murdered brother-in-law a magnificent funeral. Alexandra persuaded Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt, to use her influence with Antony to punish the king; but bribery secured Antony's connivance, and Herod went on to fill up the measure of his iniquities.

To detail the murders which were perpetrated by this hateful and capricious tyrant, would fill a volume; and degenerate must have been that people who could tolerate such a king. His uncle Joseph was the next victim, in consequence of his having communicated to Mariamne the secret orders left by Herod when he set out to go to Antony; Herod having commanded that in case Antony should condemn him for the murder of Aristobulus, Joseph should have Ma-

riamne put to death, to prevent her falling into the power of the licentious triumvir. Herod, putting a jealous construction on the fact of Joseph's revealing to Mariamne the secret intrusted to him, flew upon her in a fit of rage with a drawn sword; but the sudden return of his love towards her, which was second only to his despotic pride and ambition, saved her life. Joseph, however, was executed, and Alexandra was imprisoned.

The nations of the world, and its rulers, appear, at this period, almost to have vied with each other, in presenting examples of perfidy, licentiousness, and inhumanity; and Judea, and the whole Roman empire, were alike prepared by their deep and extensive demoralization, for the approach of that illustrious light, which was to enlighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of Israel.

The rapacious and wicked Cleopatra, not content with the numerous countries she had received from the effeminate and voluptuous Antony, longed for the possession of Judea; and actually obtained from the triumvir the gift of the most fruitful parts of the country, the whole being still a dependency of Rome. Herod was compelled to redeem the alienated territory by an annual tribute. Cleopatra, who had repeatedly labored to number Herod among the victims whose lives she sacrificed to her ambition, now paid him a visit at Jerusalem, in order, if possible, to entangle him in her snares Herod was disgusted at the attempt, and would have found occasion of putting her to death, but for the dread of Antony; which induced him to seek to avert her malice and revenge, by making her large presents, and treating her with every external mark of respect. After Antony had lost the battle of Actium, Herod advised him to put Cleopatra to death; and, by seizing on her treasures, to raise a new army for the establishment of his power: but as Antony did not follow his advice, Herod went over to the conqueror Octavius, subsequently the Emperor Augustus.

The mild and venerable Hyrcanus, who had once saved Herod's life, now feeling insecure against his caprice and jealousy, endeavored to escape from Jerusalem; but he was

seized and put to death, lest he should attempt to raise a party, and regain the crown. Before Herod left Judea to proceed to Octavius, Mariamne and Alexandra were shut up in the castle of Alexandrium; and the king left orders that, if he should lose his life previously to his return, they should both be put to death. It was no wonder that these alarming demonstrations of Herod's willingness to sacrifice everything to his ambition, his jealousy, and his dread of the Asmonæans resuming the throne, should effectually alienate from him the affections of his wife. Finding that she was acquainted with the savage manner in which he intended to exhibit his capricious attachment to her, Herod rashly charged her with infidelity. The beautiful and virtuous Mariamne was condemned, and publicly executed; and her mother Alexandra soon shared a similar fate.

The sanguinary tyrant, agonized with remorse, and with torturing emotions of love for his murdered wife, became more violent and ferocious than ever; and did not hesitate to sacrifice to his suspicions his most confidential friends. By the destruction of the sons of Babas, shortly after, the only surviving branches of the Asmonæan family were cut off. In the mean time, Judea was repeatedly visited with calamities, which, in other times, might have proved salutary warnings to a wicked king and an ungodly nation. In the fifth year of this reign, an earthquake had destroyed several thousand individuals. Soon after the death of Mariamne, a raging pestilence swept away multitudes. Three years afterwards, a famine, followed by another pestilence, desolated the country; and Herod gained a temporary popularity, by endeavoring to alleviate the distresses of his subjects, at his own expense.

About this time, he introduced many things that were totally at variance with the laws, customs, and religion of the Jews. He erected a Roman amphitheatre at Jerusalem, in which were exhibited wrestling matches, combats between men and wild beasts, and other heathen practices. Many of the Jews, degenerate as the nation had become, were much disgusted with these innovations; and Herod was

near being assassinated by means of a conspiracy of the most desperate. The Pagan temples which he built in several places, as a compliment to his Roman constituents, raised the dissatisfaction of the people to the highest pitch; and open commotion was only prevented by the prohibition of public assemblies, by a system of espionage, and by a series of public executions and secret murders.

This infidel king, who had already gratified his taste for architecture by erecting idolatrous temples, now resolved to make an effort to propitiate the Jews by rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, on a more extensive and magnificent plan than that of the existing edifice. The Jews, however, having no confidence in Herod, would not consent to the pulling down of the old building, till they saw all the materials collected for the new one. The main part of the edifice was finished in nine years and a half; but Herod and his successors were continually adding to the outworks and ornaments; so that the whole building was not completed till forty-six years from the commencement. (John ii. 20.)

Herod now sought popularity by procuring certain privileges from the Roman government for the foreign Jews; but he ceased not to make himself detested on account of his monstrous cruelties. His two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, had been heard to utter some remarks respecting the execution of their mother, which had been told to Herod, with exaggerations, by his sister Salome, and by Antipater, the son of his former wife Doris. The young princes were only saved, for this time, by the verdict of the Emperor Augustus; who, having examined the charged, acquitted them of guilt. Continual disquietudes arose in Herod's family from the same cause, for about five years; when this unnatural father suffered his mind to be so incensed against his children, that he procured their trial and condemnation; and three years before the Christian æra, they were put to death by strangling; though they could be convicted of no greater crime than that of purposing to save their lives by flight.

The closing scenes of Herod's reign were in harmony with all that had preceded, and exhibited little else than a

tissue of crimes and miseries. An unsuccessful plot was laid by his son Antipater and his brother Pheroras, to carry him off by poison. Pheroras, soon after, died; and Antipater was imprisoned. Several Pharisees, for having encouraged Pheroras to aspire to the crown, were put to death.

In the midst of these distractions in the family of Herod, and within a year of the termination of his reign, the Lord Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem. The general expectation which prevailed at this time among the Jews, of the advent of the Messiah, though their views respecting him were so erroneous, accounts for the anxiety that was felt at Jerusalem on the arrival of the Magi; and for the agitation of Herod, when he knew of their inquiry, "Where is he that is born *King of the Jews?*" Conscious that he was not the rightful heir to the Asmonæan crown, and that his throne had only stood by the artificial support given to it by the Romans, he dreaded a rival to himself or to his dynasty; and with that murderous jealousy that was so characteristic of him, he commanded the massacre of all the male infants of Bethlehem who had been born within a certain time of the appearing of the miraculous star. So remarkable a prodigy did not overawe him, though he seems to have believed in the fact of its appearance; nor did he pause to consider the testimony which it gave to the truth. Such is the blinding, hardening nature of sin!

But the curtain was now about to fall over the tragedies of this tyrannic and cruel reign. Herod was seized with a violent and loathsome disease, which left no prospect of recovery. While suffering under its rapid progress, he ordered the execution, by burning and otherwise, of forty Jews; who, having religious objections to the golden eagle which Herod had placed over one of the gates of the temple, tore it down. The noble declaration of these men to the king himself, that they were "ready to suffer anything for the sake of their religion," shows that there were still, among the Jews, those who firmly cleaved to the laws and the spirit of their best forefathers.

Though Herod himself was now aware that there was no hope of his recovery, his disposition remained the same. The agonies of his conscience; the torture occasioned by his disease; the distractions of his family; and his consciousness of being detested by the Jews, seemed only to exasperate the inveterate inhumanity and cruelty of his temper. He commanded that, immediately after he breathed his last, all the principal men of the Jewish nation should be massacred, *in order that there might be mourning at his death!* Rendered desperate by pain of body and anguish of mind, the wretched man attempted to commit suicide, but was prevented. He now ordered the execution of his son Antipater; and, five days afterwards, expired.*

Herod, at his death, divided his kingdom by will among three of his sons, who had been so fortunate as to escape being murdered by the hands of their father: namely, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip. To Archelaus he assigned Judea, Samaria, and Idumæa, with the title of king; to Herod Antipas he gave Galilee and Peræa, with the title of tetrarch; and to Philip, Batanæa, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas.† Augustus ratified the will of Herod, as respected the division of his kingdom, but refused to Archelaus the royal title, giving him instead, that of Ethnarch, or chief of the nation. His reign was turbulent and tyrannical, and caused much trouble to the Romans, in consequence of the repeated insurrections which his arbitrary conduct occasioned. In the tenth year of his reign (12 A. C.,) complaints were made against him for mal-administration: he was accused before Augustus, deposed and banished to Vienne, in Gaul. Augustus united Judea and Samaria to the Roman province of Syria, and appointed Coponius procurator of Judea. The property of Archelaus was confiscated, and a new census taken in order to apportion the tribute. (Luke ii. 1—5.)

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* Lectures on the Polity and History of the Hebrews, by Professor Hoppus, pp. 158—166.

† The mountainous districts of Zenodorus.

Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee,* is described by Josephus as a crafty and incestuous prince. It was he, who having repudiated his wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia, forcibly took away and married Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip; to gratify whom, he caused John the Baptist to be beheaded, he having reproved them for their illegal and incestuous marriage. It was this Herod, also, that laid snares for our Savior, who, knowing his subtle designs, termed him a fox. (Luke xiii. 32.) Some years afterwards, Herod, aspiring to the regal dignity, was banished to Lyons, in Gaul, and his tetrarchy annexed to the territories of Agrippa.

Herod Philip, though he had his princely foibles, was an amiable man, and a humane governor. After a reign of thirty-seven years, dying without issue, his territories were appended to the Roman province of Syria. His name occurs but once in the New Testament. (Luke iii. 1.)

Besides these immediate descendants of Herod, there were two others who succeeded to a fresh arrangement of his kingdom. These were Agrippa senior, and Agrippa junior —both mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. Agrippa, the elder, or Herod Agrippa, was the son of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Herod, by Mariamne, who was put to death by his unnatural father. During the early part of his life he resided at Rome as a private person, and contrived to ingratiate himself into the favor of the Emperor Tiberius; but, subsequently, falling into disgrace, he was thrown into prison, where he remained till the accession of Caligula, who released him, and gave him the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip; namely, Trachonitis, Gualonitis, and Batanæa, with the title of king; to which countries the Emperor Claudius afterwards added Abilene, Judea, and Samaria: so that he be-

* The word *Tetrarch*, in its grammatical sense, implies the governor of a quarter, or the *fourth part* of a province; but it was afterwards conventionally used to designate the governor of a district, or subdivision of country, whether such district were the fourth part of a province or otherwise. Herod's kingdom, for instance, was divided into only three parts.

came sole king of the Jews, and reigned over a greater extent of territory than his grandfather, Herod the Great, had done. This is the Agrippa, or "Herod the King," as he is termed, (Acts xii. 1,) who put to death the apostle James, and imprisoned Peter, in order to sustain his popularity with the Jews. Soon after, he went to Cesarea, and there celebrated games in honor of the Emperor Claudius, his patron and benefactor. On the second day of the games, he appeared in the theatre very early in the morning, arrayed in a magnificent robe of silver, to give audience to the Tyrians and Sidonians. At the close of his oration, the multitude, dazzled by the splendor of his appearance, saluted him as a god, according to the customs of that period. Because he did not repel this idolatrous salutation, and ascribe his greatness to its true source, he was smitten with an incurable disease, "and he was eaten of worms, and (five days after) gave up the ghost." Acts xii. 23.) *

The younger Agrippa, at the time of his father's death, was only seventeen years of age; and being judged unequal to the task of government, his father's dominions were united to Syria, of which province Cassius Longinus was made prefect. (45 A. C.) In this year, during the procuratorship of Fadus, commenced the grievous famine referred to in Acts xi. 28. Agrippa was made king of Chalcis, in exchange for which kingdom, Claudius subsequently gave him the tetrarchy which had formerly belonged to Philip; the rest of Judea still remaining under the government of the Roman procurator. It was before this Agrippa, and his sister Berenice, that St. Paul delivered his eloquent defence, which almost persuaded the king to become a Christian. (Acts xxvi.)

Palestine—including Judea Proper, Samaria, and Galilee —may now be considered as solely under the government of the Roman procurators :† the first of whom, to go back a

* Josephus, Antiq. xix. 7, 3, 4; viii. 2.

† These officers were appointed, not by the senate, but by the Roman emperors themselves; and their duties consisted in collecting and remit-

little in our narrative, was Coponius, who was appointed after the banishment of Archelaus; then Marcus Ambivius; then Valerius Gratus; and then Pontius Pilate, who was sent by Tiberius to govern Judea about the year 26 A. C., and by whom our Savior was delivered to crucifixion. He held his office ten years; when he was banished to Gaul by Caligula, in consequence of accusations preferred against him by the Jews for cruelty and mal-administration. He is supposed to have died, not long after, by his own hand. After the banishment of Pilate, Judea reverted, for a short time, to the family of Herod; being governed by Herod Agrippa, with the title of king, as already stated. At his death, it was again reduced to the rank of a minor province, and the government confided to a procurator sent from Rome. The first after the death of Agrippa, and the next in order to Pilate, was Antonius Felix; before whom St. Paul pleaded his cause, against the Roman orator Tertullus, and with whom, at his second hearing, he "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," until Felix, who was by no means exemplary for those virtues, "trembled." (Acts xxiv.) Felix either resigned, or was recalled, about the year 60 A. C., and was succeeded by Porcius Festus; before whom, also, together with the younger Agrippa, who had come to Cesarea to congratulate Festus on his appointment, Paul, whose cause had been left undecided by Felix, defended himself against the accusations of the Jews, and by whom, having appealed to Cesar, he was sent to Rome; both Festus and Agrippa declaring that he had done nothing worthy of death or of bonds. (Acts xxv. and xxvi.) Festus died in Judea about the year 63 A. C., and was succeeded by Albinus. The state of lawless

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ting the imperial tribute, in the administration of justice, and the repression of popular tumults. They had the power of life and death in capital causes; and on account of their high dignity they are sometimes called governors. Some of them held independent jurisdiction; while others were subordinate to the proconsul, or prefect of the nearest province; thus Judea was annexed to the province of Syria. (Horne's Introd. vol. iii. pp. 112, 113.)

disorder which prevailed at this period was constantly growing worse and worse. The country was infested with robbers and Sicarii ;* and, although Albinus exerted himself to apprehend them, he immediately released those from whom he could obtain money, and punished such only as were unable to gratify his avarice. The chief priests began to encroach on the rights of the lower priests. They sent their servants to the threshing-floors, and took away by force the tithes which belonged to the common priests. The deposed high-priest Ananus, who was the richest man in the nation, and had purchased the favor of Albinus, surpassed all his contemporaries in violence and rapine. Even the procurator himself did not hesitate to promote theft and murder, when it contributed to his own interest ; and he might have been regarded, without impropriety, as the head and instigator of all the robbers in the country.

He was succeeded, in the year 65 A. C., by Gessius Florus, compared with whom, even the unprincipled Albinus was a good man.† This political firebrand was the personification of all evil, without so much as one redeeming quality. He concentrated in himself all the vices of his predecessors, and added to them many peculiarly his own. He was not only tyrannical, cruel, and avaricious, but his avarice was utterly insatiable. He readily afforded protection to all robbers who would divide their spoil with him ; and

* The *Sicarii* were a set of secret assassins that sprang up during the procuratorship of Felix. They soon became more numerous and formidable than the robbers ; perpetrating the most atrocious murders, even in the temple and in the public streets, and yet escaping detection. They carried daggers concealed under their garments ; and, mingling in a crowd, they would despatch their victims by a secret thrust, and immediately conceal themselves among the multitude, and evade observation. They were called *Sicarii* from the *sica*, or short dagger, which they made use of.

† It was said that Albinus should have been grateful to Florus, for proving that he was not the basest of mankind, by the evidence that a baser existed; that he had a respect for virtue, by his condescending to commit those robberies in private which his successor perpetrated in public; and that he had human feeling, by his abstaining from blood where he could gain nothing by murder: while Florus disdained alike concealment and cause, and slaughtered for the brutal pleasure of the sword.

nothing was wanting but an official proclamation giving permission for all to rob, who were willing to bring a share of their plunder to the procurator. The Jews had been ill used and oppressed by former governors; but Florus inflicted cruelties upon them deliberately, and by system. The appointment of such a man to the supreme civic office, was calculated to inflame the popular discontent, and foment the gathering elements of rebellion into a storm of national vengeance.

CHAPTER IV.

Provocations offered to the Jews—Popular Commotion—Outbreak of the Jewish War—Campaign of Vespasian—Vespasian declared Emperor of Rome.

In the year 66 A. C., the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the second of the procuratorship of Florus, the imperial edict was received at Cesarea, by which the Syrian and Greek inhabitants of that city were raised above the Jews, and became entitled to the first rank as citizens.

Soon after, a Cesarean Greek, who owned a piece of land directly in front of the Jewish synagogue, began to erect a building upon it, which left the Jews a very narrow passage to their place of worship. The young Jews at first molested the workmen; but after Florus had taken measures to prevent their interference, John, a publican, with many other Jews of the first rank, went to the procurator, and gave him eight talents to prohibit the further progress of the work. This Florus promised to do, but he soon after went to Seflaste, (Samaria,) without having performed his promise; and it was thus made to appear as though he had sold the Jews permission to vindicate their rights by arms. They however remained quiet.*

* Josephus, Jewish War, ii. 14.

But, on the next day, which was the Sabbath, a certain Cesarean, to insult the Jews, turned over an earthen vessel near the entrance of the synagogue, and began to sacrifice birds on the bottom of it. The Jews were very much irritated by this outrage on their sacred rites, and the more moderate among them thought of applying to the magistrates for protection; but the enraged multitude prepared themselves to fight, and they were soon met by a number of Greeks and Syrians, who had instigated the Cesarean to make the offensive offering. Jucundus, the Roman master of horse, hastened to quell the tumult; but he was repelled by the superior numbers of Cesareans. The Jews then took their sacred books from the synagogue, and carried them to Narbata, about sixty stadia from Cesarea. In the mean time, the publican John, with twelve other distinguished Jews, went to Sebaste to lay their grievances before the procurator: but as soon as they arrived, Florus put them all in prison, because they had removed their sacred books from Cesarea.*

This arbitrary measure of the procurator caused great excitement at Jerusalem, but there was yet no appearance of sedition. Florus therefore, in order to exasperate the feelings of the people, and if possible provoke them to rebellion, sent to Jerusalem, and demanded seventeen talents from the sacred treasury for the use of the emperor. This had the desired effect: a tumult was excited, and reproaches and insults were openly cast upon the procurator. Florus now approached the city in person, with a body of horse and foot, to enforce his demand. The people went out to meet him, with the intention of paying him every mark of respect, and saluting him with the customary shout of joy; but he, instead of receiving their homage, ordered his cavalry to drive them back into the city. The next day, he demanded from his throne the surrender of those who had joined in the reproaches which had been cast upon him. He would listen to no apology, or palliation, or petition for par-

* Josephus, Jewish War, ii. 14, 5.

don, but in his rage ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper market, and they, not satisfied with this, proceeded to pillage several private houses, and massacre the inhabitants. Many of the most peaceable citizens, and among the rest some publicans who held the rank of Roman knights, were dragged before Florus, and by his orders were scourged and crucified. Nearly three thousand six hundred Jews lost their lives in this disturbance. King Agrippa was then at Alexandria; but his wife Berenice, who was at Jerusalem, was exposed to great danger from the fury of the Roman soldiers.*

The next day the chief priests and principal citizens, dressed in mourning, made every exertion to silence the lamentations of the people over those who had been murdered, lest Florus should be still more enraged by these demonstrations of grief. But Florus was determined on inflaming their discontents: he accordingly called the principal citizens before him, and demanded that the people, as a proof of their return to obedience, should go out and meet, with a shout of joy, the two cohorts which were advancing from Cesarea. The priests and noblemen were obliged to resort to the most humiliating entreaties, before they could persuade the people to take this step; and when they at last consented to go, they were received with insult; for Florus had sent orders to the soldiers not to answer the shout of the Jews, and if they manifested any dissatisfaction at this neglect, to fall upon them sword in hand. The result was such as the procurator desired; many of the Jews were wounded and slain, or crushed to death in the crowd, and the remainder driven back to the city. The next day, Florus attempted to press into the temple, with his soldiers; but the people resisted by arms, and fought so bravely, that the Romans were compelled to retire into the royal castle. The Jews then demolished the covered way which led from the Castle of Antonia to the temple, the more effectually to secure their sanctuary from the approach of the Romans. After Florus

* Josephus, Jewish War, ii. 14. 6—9; xv. 1.

supposed that he had sufficiently kindled the fires of rebellion by these abuses, he returned to Cesarea, and left only one cohort in Jerusalem.*

Florus immediately sent notice of these occurrences to Cestius Gallus; but the principal Jews and the Queen Berenice, at the same time, informed Cestius of the unreasonable and cruel conduct of the procurator. Cestius put his army in motion, but he sent his friend Neapolitanus before him, to learn the disposition of the Jews, and to obtain more accurate intelligence. At Jamnia, Neapolitanus met Agrippa, who had returned from Egypt, and made known to him the object of his mission. The chief priests and noblemen of the Jews had assembled to pay their respects to the king, and they complained to him of the inhumanity of Florus. Agrippa reproved them for their seditious conduct, though he was in reality highly irritated against Florus. Agrippa and Neapolitanus were received at Jerusalem with every mark of respect. The people who met them without the walls of the city with the customary salutation, called on Agrippa for aid, represented their unhappy condition to Neapolitanus, and showed him the ruins which had been made in their capital. When Neapolitanus perceived that the Jews had no hostile feelings against the Romans, but only against Florus, he collected them in the temple, exhorted them to peace, and then returned to Cestius. The people were entirely pacified, and persuaded to remain subject to the Romans, by a speech which Agrippa addressed to them in the gymnasium. They willingly paid the arrears of their tribute, and rebuilt the portico between the temple and the Castle of Antonia. But when Agrippa afterwards ventured to advise them to remain obedient to Florus till another procurator could be sent to Judea, they insulted him, attacked him with stones, and drove him out of their city.

Subsequent to this rash act, which was condemned by the more sober part of the people, the spirit of disaffection rapidly spread; the whole country was in commotion; and

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* Josephus, Jewish War, ii. 15. 2—6.

many deeds of violence were committed by the enraged populace. At length, on the fifth of July, (66 A. C.,) the Jews rose upon their rulers, and killed the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. A dreadful retribution, by the powerful and exasperated Romans, was sure to follow such a measure as this. It was regarded by the Christians as a prognostic of the gathering storm; and, according to the admonition of our Savior, they "fled to the mountains." When the Jewish rebellion was known at Rome, Nero was highly exasperated with Cestius, the prefect of Syria, to whose negligence it was attributed. Vespasian, who had just returned from his victories over the Germans and Britons, was immediately appointed prefect of Syria, and commander of the army destined to act against Jerusalem. Having arrived in Palestine, he took up his head-quarters at Ptolemais, and there assembled his forces; which, including the Roman troops, the auxiliaries of Antiochus, Agrippa, Sohem, and Malchus the Arab chieftain, together with the fifth and tenth legions brought by Titus from Alexandria, amounted to sixty thousand effective warriors. Vespasian marched first into Galilee, where the very appearance of his formidable army struck the inhabitants with terror, and many fled precipitately before him. Having subdued several other places, he advanced against Jotapata, within whose walls many of the Jews had taken refuge. It was defended with great bravery by Josephus and his heroic garrison for forty-seven days, but was at length betrayed into the hands of the Romans. Forty thousand Jews had been slain during the siege, and when the city was taken, one thousand two hundred were made prisoners, and the city utterly demolished. Josephus, with forty others, concealed themselves in a cavern; but they were betrayed by a woman who had been made prisoner. The Romans entreated him to surrender, and promised to spare his life; but his companions would not suffer him to accept their offers. They finally agreed, at the suggestion of Josephus, to destroy one another by lot; and when they were all slain, excepting Josephus and another, they both surrendered themselves to the Romans. Josephus was put

in chains, but afterwards, when he foretold that Vespasian would be raised to the imperial throne, he was treated with great respect, especially when his prediction was verified by the event.

The whole of Galilee was shortly subdued to the Roman power, vast numbers were slain, and many taken prisoners. In the campaigns of 68 and 69 A. C. Vespasian was equally successful in Perea, Idumæa, and Judea, and reduced the greater part of the country to obedience. But when he had taken all the strong places which covered Jerusalem, and was preparing his approaches to that city, the death of Nero, and the dissensions that followed in the empire, suspended his operations, and gave time to such Christians as remained in the city to make their escape. While at Cesarea, Vespasian received intelligence that the German legions had raised Vitellius to the imperial throne. Vespasian and his whole army were highly displeased with this election. They immediately held a council, and declared Vespasian emperor of Rome. They entreated him to sustain the sinking glory of the empire; they would listen to no excuse, and even threatened him with death, if he refused to accept the proffered dignity; so true is it that whereas "some men are born to greatness, and some men achieve greatness, others have greatness thrust upon them."

CHAPTER V

Internal State of Jerusalem—John the Gischalite—The Zealots—Simon of Gerasa—Faction of Eleazar.

After the siege of Gischala by Titus, John, commonly called John the Gischalite, the leader of a desperate band of robbers, having made his escape by night, fled to Jerusalem, and there gathered around him a number of associates, as violent and blood-thirsty as himself. The state of things

within the city was every day growing more alarming. Law and order were recklessly violated ; all legitimate authority was powerless ; the flood-gates of anarchy were thrown open, and all the barriers and safeguards of society gave way before the rushing torrent. Faction rose upon faction ; families were divided ; and party ranged against party. Bands of robbers infested the city, and committed their depredations openly and in broad daylight. They seized and imprisoned the three royal princes, Antipas, Levias, and Sophias, with several other noblemen ; and afterwards put them to death, under pretence that they designed to deliver up the city to the Romans. Perceiving that the people were awed and intimidated by these violent measures, they became still more daring. They excited dissensions among the noblemen, and then put them to death and appropriated their estates. Disregarding the hereditary rights of the high-priests, they disposed of the highest ecclesiastical offices by lot among the meanest of their partisans. Phannias was made high-priest ; a man who had been bred to labor in the field, and was taken directly from the plough; who knew nothing of the duties of his office, and served only to bring it into contempt. The people were at length induced by the persuasions of Ananus, Gorion, and some other of the chief priests, to take up arms against these seditious outlaws, who had assumed the name of Zealots. But while Ananus was arranging and organizing his forces, the Zealots rushed out of the temple, and murdered all who came in their way. The army of Ananus, though then but ill disciplined and scantily supplied with arms, maintained their ground, and an obstinate battle was fought, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. Such skirmishes were afterwards frequent, and the Zealots were generally victorious ; till at last, on one occasion, Ananus with his party pressed on so closely after the retreating Zealots, that he rushed with them into the temple. They then fled into the inner court and closed the gates ; and Ananus, out of reverence for the sacred place, declined to pursue his advantage any further. He, however, left a garrison of six

thousand men in the outer court, who were relieved by others at regular intervals.

John the Gischalite professedly espoused the cause of Ananus, but held a secret correspondence with the Zealots; and when his treachery was suspected, he asserted his fidelity with a solemn oath, and so entirely freed himself from all suspicion, that he was sent to the Zealots to enter into negotiations for peace. He took this opportunity to advise the Zealots to call the Idumæans to their aid, two thousand of whom soon after appeared before Jerusalem. Ananus shut the gates against them, and in vain endeavored, by the most earnest entreaties, to dissuade them from their purpose. They remained all night before the city, exposed to the fury of a violent storm of rain and thunder. The Zealots, taking advantage of the noise occasioned by the wind, rain, and thunder, sawed off the bars which confined the gates of the temple, without being heard by the garrison in the outer court, went unperceived to the gates of the city, which they opened, and conducted the Idumæans to the temple, where their comrades had already issued from the inner court to meet them. They now, with their united strength, fell upon the garrison in the outer court, who at first defended themselves with great bravery; but as soon as they perceived that the Idumæans were among them, they threw down their swords, and raised a cry of despair. By this the inhabitants of the city were awakened; but not daring to go to the aid of the garrison, they, particularly the women, set up another shriek of terror. Meanwhile the garrison of the outer court was cut to pieces, and many precipitated themselves from the porticoes of the temple into the city. The Idumæans then rushed into the city, and cut down all whom they met; but sought principally for the chief priests, among whom Ananus was slain. Josephus intimates that Ananus would have restored peace with the Romans, had his life been spared; since he had already done much towards suppressing the haughty spirit of the seditious. The Idumæans and Zealots massacred great numbers of the people, and put the more distinguished citizens in prison, where they attempted

to compel them to join their party, by severe treatment and scourging; and finally put those to death who firmly refused to comply with their demands. They seized them by day, and murdered them in the night; and then threw out their dead bodies, to make room for other prisoners. They accused the wealthy Zacharias, the son of Baruch, before seventy judges whom they called together, of a design to betray the city into the hands of Vespasian; and when he began to make his defence, and to shew the injustice of the accusation, they made such a tumult that his voice could not be heard. Notwithstanding this, the judges acquitted him; and for this act of justice they were immediately beaten from their seats, and Zacharias was murdered by two Zealots in the midst of the temple. When the Idumæans witnessed the violence of the Zealots, and heard of all the barbarous crimes of which they had been guilty, they released the two thousand prisoners whom they had taken, and went home mortified and disgusted by the conduct of their allies. The Zealots, however, did not cease to commit murder, under pretence of punishing treason.

Many now sought refuge with the Romans, who looked on with pleasure, and saw their enemies destroying one another. All the avenues from the city were indeed strongly guarded, and those who were detected in their flight were put to death; but money could open for any one a way of escape, and it was those only who were unable or unwilling to bribe the guards, that were delivered up and executed as traitors. The dead bodies of such as had fallen by the hand of the executioner, lay unburied in the streets, because no one ventured to bury them, lest he should himself be regarded and treated as a traitor. All human laws were trampled under foot, the laws of God were despised, the prophets were ridiculed as fanatics and jugglers, although the Zealots themselves were now fulfilling their prophecies; for, (as Josephus observes,) "they had foretold that the city should be destroyed and the temple burnt, when a revolt should break out, and the temple should be profaned by the citizens

themselves; which predictions the Zealots were now accomplishing."

John the Gischalite, a brave and sagacious, but unprincipled man, now began to assume absolute authority, and endeavored to make himself sole master of the city; but his pretensions were strongly opposed. The citizens were consequently divided into two factions, who were frequently engaged in bloody conflicts. The robbers and Sicarii meanwhile had increased throughout the country in numbers and audacity. The robbers of Masada, who had hitherto plundered only to supply themselves with provisions, now undertook more extensive depredations. On the Feast of the Passover they attacked the town of Engaddi, drove out the inhabitants, murdered more than seven hundred women and children, pillaged the town, and brought their booty to Masada. In a short time they devastated that whole region; while others did the same in other places, and then fled with their booty to the deserts.

While the rebels were left undisturbed by the Romans, a new dissension broke out among themselves. Simon of Gerasa, the son of Giora, a less subtle but more daring man than John the Gischalite, now attempted to place himself at the head of the rebels. After his expulsion from the district of Acrabatene by Ananus, he joined the robbers at Masada, and gained their confidence by his daring depredations. After the death of Ananus he withdrew to the mountains, and soon drew around him a numerous party by promising freedom to the slaves, and great rewards to the free men who would join him.*

He now begun to plunder the villages on the mountains, and soon extended his depredations to the plains. In a short time he became formidable to the cities, and was then joined by some of the nobles. He now carried his robberies into Idumæa, fortified the village of Nain, deposited his booty in the caves of the Vale of Pharan, and left there a large number of his adherents as a garrison. The Zealots took the

* Jewish War, iv. 9. 3. Tacitus, Hist. v. 12.

field against him, but were overpowered and driven back to Jerusalem. In Idumæa, he fought with twenty thousand men against twenty-five thousand Idumæans for a whole day, without gaining a decisive victory. Soon after, he encamped at Thecoa with forty thousand men, when Idumæa fell into his power by treachery, and he desolated the whole country with fire and sword. The Zealots did not venture again to take the field against him, and they were obliged to restore to him his wife and a great number of his adherents, who had fallen into their power by a stratagem; for the irritated Simon led his army to Jerusalem, put to death many who came out of the city, cut off the hands of others, and sent them back with the threat that he would break through the walls and treat all the Jews in the same manner, unless they sent him back his wife. The intimidated Zealots were accordingly compelled to submit.*

Simon returned to Idumæa and resumed his robberies; and when the Idumæans attempted to escape to Jerusalem, he pursued them to the walls, surrounded the city, and slew all who were going out to their fields or returning from them. The condition of those within the city was no better than that of those without; every species of enormity was practised by the Zealots, especially by John the Gischalite and his Galileans. To plunder and murder the rich, and ravish the women, was mere pastime to these shameless wretches; they polluted themselves by nameless obscenities, and imitated the dress and ornaments and wantonness of females. Josephus says, "the whole city was one great brothel, a horrid den of robbers, and a hateful cave of murderers." †

At last an army, to which the Idumæans attached themselves, was raised against John, and a bloody battle was fought in the city. Many of the Zealots fell, and the remainder took refuge in the palace which had been built by Grapte, a relative of King Izates, whence they were soon expelled and driven into the temple. The Idumæans now

* Jewish War, iv. 9. 4—8. † Ibid, iv. 9. 10.

plundered the palace which John the Gischalite had made his place of residence, and in which he had deposited his treasures. The Zealots, who were dispersed in different parts of the city, collected for the aid of their comrades in the temple; and John made preparations for an assault on the Idumæans and the people. In this distress the people opened their gates to Simon, who indeed kept John closely besieged in the temple, but soon proved himself as tyrannical a master as his rival. He could gain little advantage against the temple, where the Zealots were favored by the height of the place; and they now built for their greater security four additional towers, and provided them with engines for throwing stones and darts. Thus there were continual hostilities among the Jews themselves in the city.

CHAPTER VI.

Advance of Titus against Jerusalem—Commencement of the Siege—Conquest of the Outer Wall—Capture of the Lower City—Siege of the Tower of Antonia—Assault on the Temple—Burning of the Temple—Conquest and Conflagration of the Upper City—Complete Demolition of Jerusalem—Close of the Jewish War.

VESPASIAN being declared emperor, (69 A. C.,) he devolved the command of the army in Judea on his son Titus, and left him to complete the subjugation of that country.

When Titus advanced against Jerusalem, at the head of sixty thousand men—Romans and auxiliaries—multitudes of Jews were collected in the city, from all quarters, to celebrate the Feast of Passover. This circumstance greatly enhanced the subsequent calamities of the siege; as such vast numbers soon consumed the provisions which remained in the city, and speedily produced the most horrible famine that ever history recorded. It was probably in contemplation of such a result, that Titus selected this time for his

advance; as he would reasonably calculate that the siege would be shortened by the besieged being obliged to surrender from want of food. He needed all the hope which might be derived from such a consideration, for the enterprise which he had undertaken was one of no ordinary difficulty. The city itself was strong from its situation; besides which, its fortifications were, for that age, of remarkable strength, and of recent erection. The ancient walls had indeed been demolished by Pompey; and when Herod Agrippa undertook to repair the foundations and raise the walls, the governor of Syria took alarm, and obtained an order from Rome, prohibiting the continuance of the work. After Herod's death, however, the Jews *purchased* permission from the venal Claudius to resume the undertaking, and availed themselves of the advantage with such good effect, that the town came to be considered little less than impregnable. The walls and battlements were completed to the height of twenty-five cubits, and the breadth of ten cubits, built with great stones twenty cubits long and ten broad, so that they could not be easily undermined, nor shaken by military engines. This was the outer wall, (for there were two others,) and it was strengthened with sixty strong and lofty towers. The two other walls were of corresponding strength, the second having fourteen towers and the third eighty. Besides this, there were several castles of extraordinary strength, such as those of Hippicos, Phasael, Mariamne, and Antonia; not to mention the royal palace and some others, that were stately and well fortified. The temple itself exceeded in strength; and for its situation, with its walls, towers, and other buildings, was at least equal to the strongest fortress then existing. The defenders were numerous, wanting no arms or warlike engines, invincibly obstinate, and brave to desperation. But, on the other hand, they wanted experience in the defence of towns, and in the use of warlike engines which they had taken from the Romans; their stores of provisions were utterly inadequate, and in a course of rapid exhaustion; and they were at variance among themselves, and with the unwarlike multitudes

in the city, who sighed for safety and peace. However, the party differences of the defenders of the city were somewhat diminished, almost as soon as the Romans made their appearance, by the suppression of the party of Eleazar, which put John in sole possession of the temple, and left him free to act with Simon against the Romans, and against Simon when the Romans intermitted their assaults. This was the principal contest throughout the siege. The two great parties concurred in defence of the city; but when the urgent occasion had passed, they turned their arms against each other. Thus there was two-fold war, and the life-blood of Jerusalem was drained without respite. John defended the temple and the Castle of Antonia, and Simon the rest of the city. The space which their previous devastations had cleared within the city, served them for a field of battle against each other; from which, when occasion required, they unanimously hastened to act against the commou enemy; after which, their mutual hostilities were resumed, as if they had studied how to make their ruin more easy to the Romans.

When Titus arrived before the city, he made an ostentatious display of his forces, in battle array, in three divisions; the first and principal encamped at Scopas, about seven stadia from the city northward; the second about three stadia behind; and the third eastward, on the Mount of Olives. The first week, being the week of the Passover, he spent in making such arrangements as the survey which he had made showed to be necessary, and in preparing the ground for future operations. The ground between Scopas and the city was levelled and cleared, by the demolition of trees, houses, hedges, and even rocks, which supplied materials to raise, against the wall, banks on which the military engines were planted; and the overtures of peace having been rejected with insult and scorn, he commenced active operations the day after the ending of the Paschal week, being Sunday, April 22. And here it may be observed, that Titus was instructed to avoid the error which had proved fatal to Cestius, who had made an attack on the Sabbath, expecting that

the Jews would not fight on that day; and learnt otherwise to his cost. Titus knew that their present principle was that they might on that day resist assailing enemies, in self-defence, but that they might not attack them if otherwise employed. Hence, the Roman general adopted the policy of Pompey, who, without molestation, employed the Sabbaths in undermining the walls, raising mounts, and constructing military engines, preparatory to his attacks on the Sundays. This explains how it happened that the most important events of the war took place on the day following the Sabbath.

Three moveable towers having been erected on the banks, and the battering rams having been brought to bear on the wall in three different places, the assault began, and the cry of terror arose throughout the city at the noise and destruction occasioned by these machines.* Simon planted on the wall the military engines taken from Cestius, but want of skill in the men rendered them ineffective. The missiles from the towers soon cleared the wall, and left the rams to work unimpeded. Simon aud John, however, concurred in some desperate sallies, in one of which they set the engines on fire. But many of the men were taken by the Romans

* The skill of man, exerted for ages on the arts of compendious slaughter, has scarcely produced the equals of those horrible engines. They threw masses of inextinguishable fire, of boiling water, of burning oil, of red-hot flints, of molten metal, from distances that precluded defence, and with a force that nothing could resist. The catapult shot stones of a hundred weight from the distance of furlongs, with the straightness of an arrow, and with an impulse that ground everything in their way to powder. They battered down walls of solid stone; they tore up the strongest buttresses like weeds; they struck away whole ranks of men, and whirled their shattered remnants through the air. They levelled towers, and swept battlements away, with their defenders, at a blow. The fortitude that scorned the Roman spear, and exulted in the sight of the columns mounting the scaling-ladders, as mounting to sure destruction, quailed before the tremendous power of the catapult. The ominous cry of the watcher that gave notice of its discharge, "The son cometh," was a sound that prostrated every man upon his face, until the crash of the walls told that the dreaded blow was given.

and crucified before the walls; and these demonstrations, however brave, were in general ineffectual. The first breach was made in the outer wall on Sunday, May 6th; when the Romans, rushing in through the breach, opened the gates, and obtained possession of the new city, the Jews retiring behind the second wall. The Roman camp was then removed to the conquered ground, after the greater part of the outer wall had been demolished. The second wall was defended with desperate bravery; and frequent sallies were made on the besiegers. The Romans, however, gained possession of the walls in five days; but the Jews made so obstinate a resistance in the streets, that they drove back the enemy, and took possession of the breach, from which it took three days more to expel them.

Titus being thus master of the new and lower cities, turned his attention to the Tower of Antonia; and the stand here made by the besieged extorted the admiration of their enemies John, who held the castle, dug a mine therefrom to the banks, by which they were destroyed; and two days after, Simon assaulted the remaining banks, and set fire to the engines that were planted on them. The flames spread to the banks, which were chiefly constructed of felled trees, and destroyed them, obliging the Romans to retreat to their camp, where they had an obstinate and bloody conflict, before they could drive back the Jews who had pursued them.

After this, and in order that famine might accomplish all its work in the town, by the besieged being shut up more closely, and precluded from all means of escape, Titus built a wall of circumvallation all round the city, fortified at due intervals with thirteen towers, in which strong guards were stationed. This vast work, which was about six miles in extent, was accomplished by the Roman soldiers in three days, through one of those exertions of concentrated energy and application, which they alone, in that age, were capable of displaying.

Having accomplished this work, the Romans resumed their operations against Fort Antonia, which they took without much difficulty; for the garrison, being exhausted by

famine, made but a feeble defence. Titus ordered it to be entirely demolished, that the site might afford ground for the operations against the temple, which became the next object of attack. At this time (July 12th) the daily sacrifice ceased in the temple, as no one remained properly qualified to officiate.

Titus, always anxious to preserve the temple, sent Josephus on the last of his many embassies to the Zealots, inviting them to submission and peace; or, as an alternative, suggesting that John might, if he pleased, draw out his forces to battle, so that the temple and city might be preserved from destruction. John answered with bitter invectives, adding, that Jerusalem was God's own city, and he had no fear that it could ever be taken. Josephus in vain reminded him of the blood and abomination with which he had himself defiled the city and temple, and bade him recollect the ancient prophecies which foretold their overthrow. It has been thought possible that Josephus had in view the prophecies of Christ, which could scarcely have been unknown to him; although some suppose that the concluding chapters of Zechariah supply the reference. His earnest conclusion is striking, taken in connexion with the present prophecies: —"It is God—it is God himself, who is bringing on this fire to purge the city and the temple by the Romans, and who is about to pluck up this city, which you have filled with your pollutions." Josephus, indeed, everywhere manifests his conviction that God was with the Romans, and made use of them for the destruction of a guilty nation.

The temple now became the great object of interest to all parties. The Jews were for the most part confident that it never could be taken; and expected some extraordinary manifestation of Divine power for its preservation, and the overthrow of the Romans. Titus was most anxious to preserve so magnificent a fabric for the glory of the Roman empire; but most of the superior officers were of opinion that so strong a fabric should be destroyed, lest it might serve as a strong hold and rallying point to the Jews in their future rebellions; and the soldiers cared only for the rich

plunder which it offered. The Jews were prepared to shed their last blood in its defence, and the Romans deemed all labor light for so rich a prize. And they had much labor; for, before they could commence their operations, it was necessary to construct banks against the walls for the towers and battering rams; and for this purpose they were obliged to bring wood from a great distance, as all the trees, for twenty miles round Jerusalem, had already been destroyed. On the fourth of August, a council of war was held to determine whether the temple should be destroyed or preserved. Most of the officers were for the former alternative, but gave way when they saw that their general was obstinately bent on its preservation. But such was not the will of God, who had doomed it to no common overthrow.

Titus being now in possession of the outer court, fixed on August the 5th for storming the temple with all his army. But the night before, two desperate sallies were made by the Jews, and, in driving them back the last time, the Romans rushed on after them into the inner court.* One of the soldiers then seized a firebrand, and mounting on the shoulders of a companion, cast it through a window communicating with the apartments on the north side of the sanctuary. The flames almost immediately burst forth; on beholding which, the Jews raised a cry of despair, and ran to extinguish them. Titus also hastened to the spot with his officers, and made every exertion for the same purpose, both by voice and action—he entreated, promised, threatened, and

* On this occasion, the exasperated Jews, contemptuous of life, fought with the rage of wild beasts. When the lance was broken, the knife was the weapon; when the knife failed, they tore with their hands and teeth. Masses of stone, iorches, burning liquids, even dead bodies, everything that could minister to destruction, were hurled from the roofs on the assailants, who were often repulsed with deadly havoc. But they still made way; the courts of the Gentiles, of the Israelites, and of the priests, were successively stormed; and the legion at length established themselves in front of the inner temple. A scream of wrath and agony, at the possible profanation of the Holy of Holies, rose from the infuriated multitude, and they resolved to rescue the temple, or perish in the attempt.

even struck his men with his staff; but, for the time, he had lost all authority and influence, and was not heeded by any. The soldiers who flocked from the camp, eagerly joined those already on the spot in destroying the Jews, in increasing the flames, and in stripping the burning pile of its treasured wealth and ornaments. The general, seeing that the soldiers could not be induced to extinguish the flames, went into the holy place with his officers, while the fire was consuming the outer apartments, and had not yet penetrated to the interior. He took out the golden candlestick, the incense altar, and the table of shew-bread, with some other sacred furniture, which were afterwards paraded in his triumph at Rome. When he came forth, Titus made one more effort to induce the soldiers to put out the fire, but with as little success as before. On the contrary, they hastened to apply their hands to the sanctuary which he had quitted, and to every part of the sacred structure, till the flames burst forth with redoubled fury in all directions; and, finally, disappointed in the hope he had always cherished, the general withdrew to his quarters.

While the temple burned, the soldiers cut down every Jew they encountered, and plundered whatever they could lay their hands on. The inner court, and especially the space about the altar, was covered with dead bodies, and blood flowed in streams down to the lower court. The gold plate of the gates, and timber work of the sanctuary, and the precious articles which it contained, afforded them rich spoil, so immense, indeed, was their booty from this and other spoliations, that gold in Syria speedily fell to one half its former value. In the confusion, the Zealots and robbers, who had the defence of the place, succeeded in forcing their way through the Upper City, there to make their last stand. The plundering and butchering being over for the present, the Romans carried their standards around the burning temple, and set them up before the eastern gate, where they offered sacrifices, and saluted Titus as "Imperator." Thus was destroyed the glorious edifice of which our Lord foretold to his disciples, who pointed out its "goodly stones"

with admiration, that "the days shall come in the which there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down." (Luke xxi. 6.)

Passing over some intermediate circumstances, we have now only to state, that the Upper City, or Mount Zion, the last refuge of the factious, was taken by the Romans on Sunday, September 2d. Even the Zealots had now despaired; the fall of the temple assured them that they were indeed abandoned by God. Many, therefore, convinced that the Upper City would be taken, went to hide themselves in the cellars, vaults, and sewers; others retired to the castle; and but few were left to offer but a feeble resistance to the Romans. A breach was soon made, and the Jews fled; but, instead of hastening to the towers, which were very strong, and in which nothing but famine could have reduced them, they ran to the Valley of Siloam, with the design of forcing their way into the open country, through the Roman wall. In this desperate undertaking, they were joined even by the men already in the towers, which they hastily abandoned to join their fleeing comrades. But they were all repulsed by the Roman guards at the wall, and obliged to hasten for shelter to the vaults, caverns, sinks, and common sewers, hoping, as those who had resorted to such shelter in the first instance, that they should be able to preserve existence till the Roman forces were withdrawn from the desolated city. All the rest whom the Romans could find were put to death, with the exception of the most vigorous and beautiful, who were reserved, as captives, for future calamities worse than present death. The city was set on fire; but so great was the slaughter, that the flames were kept under by the blood of the slain, and it was not till night that the conflagration became general.

After Titus had accomplished his mission of vengeance against a guilty people, he departed for Cesarea, leaving, however, forces, under Terentius Rufus, to complete the work of devastation, and to explore the retreats of those who had hid themselves with much treasure. Great numbers were found, and slain; and others came forth of their

own accord, being no longer able to endure the extremity of famine. Among these, were John and Simon. The former appeared first, and begged his life, which was granted. Simon, whose retreat was better stored with provisions, held out till the end of October, when he was seen on the ruins of the temple, arrayed in a white robe and purple mantle. The Romans were astonished at this apparition, but, learning who he was, they took him, and sent him in chains to Titus. He and John were reserved to adorn the triumphal pageant with which the conqueror entered Rome, and in which they appeared at the head of seven hundred captives, selected from the rest for the beauty of their personal appearance. After which, Simon was dragged through the imperial city with a rope round his neck, scourged severely, and then put to death with some other Jewish leaders. John, whose life had been granted to him, was sent into perpetual imprisonment.

At Jerusalem, when there was no more blood to shed, and when the fire had done its work, the soldiers proceeded with the work of demolition, razing even to the ground all its noble structures, its walls and fortresses, its palaces and towers. Nothing was left save a piece of the western wall, to serve as a rampart to the tenth legion; and the towers of Hippicos, Phasael, and Mariamne, to perpetuate the glory of the conqueror, by evincing the strength and splendor of the city he had overthrown. The conqueror visited the spot on his return from Cesarea, to embark for Rome from Alexandria; and when he saw that utter ruin of a city which he had always been anxious to preserve, and to the destruction of which he had been compelled by a power and by circumstances which he could not resist, he could not refrain from tears, cursing the wretches who had made him the unwilling author of the ruin which he witnessed.* The Savior of the

* When Titus examined the city, he was astonished at the strength of its fortifications, particularly of the towers which the rebels had so hastily abandoned, and exclaimed, "It was surely God himself who expelled the Jews from these fortifications, from which man could never have driven them."

world had wept there long before, foreknowing and foretelling the ruin which had now come to pass. And of his word, not one jot nor one tittle fell to the ground. All was accomplished.

Thus fell the metropolis of the Jewish state. Other cities have arisen on the ruins of Jerusalem, and succeeded, as it were, to the inalienable inheritance of perpetual siege, oppression, and ruin. Jerusalem probably witnessed a far greater portion of human misery than any other spot upon the earth.

Josephus justly observes, that no city had ever suffered so severely, nor had there ever been upon earth so abandoned a race of men as those who then had possession of Jerusalem, and that their abominable excesses compelled Titus to destroy the city.*

The capital being destroyed, the conquest of the other parts of the country was effected without much difficulty. In the following year Lucilius Bassus was sent with an army into Judea, to crush the remnant of the revolters who were still in arms. The Jewish war terminated in a tragedy which displayed the same obstinate courage and self-devotion as marked its commencement. Flavius Silva, who succeeded Bassus, laid siege to the fortress of Masada, the only fortified place that still remained in the hands of the Sicarii. The genius of ancient fortification produced nothing more remarkable than this celebrated citadel. It was built by Jonathan Maccabæus, and afterwards strengthened and improved by Herod the Great. It stood near the western shore of the Dead Sea, on a height so steep and precipitous that the sun never reached the bottom of the surrounding defiles. Its outer wall was a mile round, with thirty-eight towers, each eighty feet high. Immense marble cisterns; granaries like palaces, capable of holding provisions for years; stores of arms and armor blazing in steel and gold, tastefully arranged in buildings of the stateliest Grecian architecture; and defences of the most costly skill, at every

* Josephus, Jewish War, v. 10.

commanding point of the interior, displayed the kingly magnificence and martial pride of the most brilliant, daring, and successful monarch of Judea, since Solomon. On the west side of this fortress, Silva raised a bank two hundred cubits high, and on this he built a platform of stone fifty cubits high, which was surmounted by a moveable tower sixty cubits in height. The place was strong by nature, and was defended with obstinate bravery. At length, the Romans having with great difficulty made a breach in the wall, the besieged Jews betook themselves to the last resort of despair.

Eleazar, the commander of the fortress, assembled his followers in the palace, and reminded them that the time was now come when they must vindicate the lofty principles of patriotism by which they were distinguished. God had evidently abandoned his people, and permitted the heathen to triumph. This was manifest from tfie fall of Jerusalem, the ruin of the temple, and the failure of their present bold attempt. Still it was better to fall into the hands of God than of the Roman. Their wives were yet unviolated, their children yet free from captivity, the badge of slavery had not yet been fastened upon them; and Eleazar proposed that they should put the women and children to death, then set the city on fire, and offer up themselves a voluntary sacrifice to the cause of their bleeding and abandoned country. His men gazed on each other in speechless amazement. Some caught at once the enthusiasm of their leader; others thought of their wives and children, and tears were seen stealing down their hardy cheeks. Eleazar saw that they were wavering, and broke out in a higher and more impassioned strain. He spoke of the immortality, the divinity of the soul; of its joyful escape from the imprisonment of mortality; and its eternal repose in Abraham's bosom. He appealed to their Jewish feelings, to the heroic deeds of their forefathers; and reminded them of the magnanimity of the Indians, who regard life as a restraint, as a burden which they cheerfully throw off when it is required of them. Perhaps with still greater effect he dwelt on the licentiousness

and cruelty of the Romans, on their treatment of the vanquished, the abuse of women, the captivity of children, and the murderous scenes in the amphitheatres. "Let us die," he exclaimed, "let us die unenslaved; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and offspring. This our law enjoins, our country demands, our wives and children entreat. God himself has driven us to this stern necessity; this, the Romans dread above all things, lest we should disappoint them of their expected triumph. Let us deny them the gratification of seeing us enslaved; and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valor." He was interrupted by the unanimous acquiescence of the multitude, who declared themselves ready to begin on the instant the work of self-devotion. If the softer feelings of humanity for a moment agitated their breast, they had no longer power to control. They embraced their wives, kissed their children, wept over them tears of parental agony, and then, in the frenzy of desperation, stabbed them to the heart. Not a man shrunk from the murderous office; though all seemed to think they should wrong the dead if they survived them many minutes. They hastily collected all their treasures into a heap, and burnt them to ashes. Then ten of the strongest men were selected as the common executioners; the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the fatal blow. One of the ten was then chosen by lot to destroy the remaining nine; who, having accomplished his task, seized a lighted brand, set fire to the royal palace, and then, with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart. The Romans entered the city early in the morning, and found it silent as the grave, on which they raised a shout of victory. After a time, two women and five children, who had concealed themselves in an aqueduct, made their appearance, and related to the victors the horrible transaction of the past night. The Romans, having partially extinguished the fire, made their way into the palace, and there beheld, not without admiration, this affecting spectacle of self-devotion.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Judea subsequent to the Jewish War—Condition of the Jews during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan—Establishment of the Rabbinical Authority, and of the School of Tiberias—Their oppression by Hadrian—Appearance of Barcochab, the Pretended Messiah, and General Revolt of the Jews—Their Defeat by Julius Severus—Building of Ælia Capitolina—Edict of Hadrian—Julian the Apostate, and the Jewish Tradition.

THE subjugation of Judea was now complete. The country was portioned out to strangers; the capital was destroyed—the temple demolished—the royal house almost extinct—and the high-priesthood buried beneath the ruins of the temple. The sceptre was departed from Judah; the Hebrew empire had lost its centre of unity; and never since has it been recognized as one of the states or kingdoms of the world. It might have been expected, from the desolating character of the great war with Rome, that the people, as well as the empire of the Jews, would have fallen into utter dissolution; or, at least, have verged rapidly towards total extermination. Besides the loss of nearly a million and a half of lives during the war, the markets of Rome were glutted with Jewish slaves; the amphitheatres were crowded with Jewish captives, who were compelled to slay each other in troops for the diversion of their conquerors, or fell in rapid succession by the more expeditious cruelty of wild beasts; while others were doomed to toil in unwholesome mines for that wealth which was not to be their own. Yet still this inexhaustible race revived and multiplied to furnish new candidates for its inalienable inheritance of detestation and misery. Like the palm-tree, the national emblem of Judea, new scions sprang from the eternal stock; and the blasts of winter served only to strengthen the common root, and fasten its fibres to the soil with a more tenacious grasp.

Of the state of Palestine immediately after the war, we

have but little accurate information. It is uncertain how far the enormous loss of life, and the numbers carried into captivity, had drained the population of the country; or how far the rescript of Vespasian, which offered the whole landed property of the province for sale, had introduced a race of foreign adventurers. The probability is, either that the country was not near exhausted, or that the reproduction in this still fertile region was extremely rapid; since, in the time of Hadrian, the Jews were found in great numbers Indeed, it must be remembered, that whatever havoc was made by the sword of the conqueror, by distress, or by famine; whatever the consumption of human life in the amphitheatre and the slave market, yet the ravage of the war was, after all, by no means universal in the province. Galilee, Judea, and great part of Idumæa were wasted, and, probably, almost depopulated; but, excepting a few towns which offered resistance, the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan escaped the devastation. The dominions of King Agrippa were, for the most part, respected. Samaria submitted without resistance, as did most of the cities on the sea-coast. Many of the rich and of the nobility fell off from their infatuated countrymen at the beginning, or during the course of the war, and were permitted, by Titus, to take up their residence in the more tranquil parts of the country. Hence the remnant of the people who survived the wreck of their institutions, the downfall of their priesthood, and the extinction of their nationality, must have been by no means inconsiderable.

During the reign of Vespasian, and his immediate successors, the Jews were regarded with jealous watchfulness. A garrison of eight hundred men occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city and temple. Hegesippus relates, that Vespasian commanded strict search to be made for all who claimed descent from the house of David—in order to cut off all hopes of the restoration of the royal house by the Messiah. This inquisition was continued in the reign of Domitian, nor did the rest of the nation escape the cruelties which desolated the empire under the

despotism of that sanguinary tyrant. The tax of two drachms levied, according to the rescript of Vespasian, for the rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, ("which," as Gibbon observes, "by a remarkable coincidence, had been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the Temple of Jerusalem,") was exacted with unrelenting rigor; and, if any denied their Judaism, the most indecent means were used to ascertain the fact.

Still it is doubtful whether these persecutions which, perhaps, were chiefly directed at the Judaizing Christians, oppressed the people very heavily in their native land. It is difficult to conceive, unless communities were suffered to be formed, and the Jews enjoyed comparative security, how they could have appeared in the formidable attitude of resistance which they assumed in the time of Hadrian. The rabbinical traditions are full of the sufferings of the people during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva,* and Trajan; but they are so moulded up with fable and evident exaggeration, that it is difficult to distinguish any ground-work of truth.

In the mean time, a rabbinical school of great reputation had been established at Jamnia, or Japhne, a town in the tribe of Dan, near the shore of the Mediterranean.

According to the Jewish tradition, the Sadhedrim escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege, it had followed Gamaliel, its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabne, (Jamnia.) Simeon, the son and successor of Gamaliel, had gone up to the Passover; he was put to death. Raban Jochanan ben Zaccai, after having labored in vain to persuade the people to peace, made his escape to the camp of Titus, and afterwards became Nasi at Jamnia. It was Rabban Jochanan, who, on the awful night when the great gate of the Temple flew open of its own accord, quoted the ominous

* The accession of Nerva freed the Jews from much suffering, but the capitation-tax was not repealed; although the object for which it was levied was now accomplished by the complete restoration of the Capitoline Temple. It continued to be paid at least till the time of Origen, who flourished in the early part of the third century.

words of the prophet Zachariah—"*Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.*" He escaped the fury of the Zealots by being laid on a bier, as dead, and carried forth by his scholars, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer. Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, likewise escaped the fate of his father. With the permission of Titus, he followed Jochanan to Jamnia, and afterward succeeded him in the presidency. That this school of Gamaliel had any legitimate title to the dignity of Sanhedrim, may be reasonably doubted: but it seems clear, that the great school of Jamnia obtained considerable authority; and whether from the rank and character of its head, or from the assemblage of many of its members of the ancient Sanhedrim, who formed a sort of community in that place, it was looked up to with great respect and veneration by the Jews who remained in Palestine. Gamaliel, the president of the school in Jamnia, or, as the Jews assert, the Nasi of the Sanhedrim, was deeply learned, but proud and overbearing. He studiously depressed his rivals in learning, R. Eliezer, Hyrcun, and R. Joshua, son of Hananiah. It was a question, whether a first-born animal, wounded on the lip, was a lawful offering. Joshua decided in the affirmative. Gamaliel not merely annulled his sentence, but inflicted an humiliating penance on Joshua, making him stand up while he was lecturing. A scholar asked Joshua whether evening prayer was a duty or a free-will offering. Joshua decided for the latter. Another contradiction and another penance ensued; till at length the indignant scholars attempted to throw off the yoke, and Gamaliel was formally deposed. Much difficulty arose about his successor. R. Joshua, his great rival, was passed by, and the choice lay between R. Akiba, a man whose fiery and impetous character afterwards plunged himself and the nation in the darkest calamities, and R. Eliezer, a young man of noble family, said to be ascended from Ezra. The choice fell on Eliezer. He hesitated to accept the dignified office. "Why?" he was asked. "Because," replied he, "I am too young, but I will ask my wife." And he was the same day elected president. Other schools sprung up in rivalry to

that of Jamnia, such as those at Lydda and Tiberias, and in all of them rabbinical learning flourished; for ever since the Babylonish captivity a body of men had devoted themselves to the assiduous study of the law, and had thus become qualified to be the expounders of it to the mass of the people. They also claimed authority as the depositories of the unwritten or traditionary law, which, as they asserted, had been delivered by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, and was entitled to equal reverence with the Ten Commandments themselves. These doctors were sometimes priests or Levites, but by no means necessarily of the sacred tribe; and they became formidable rivals to the descendants of Aaron in the favor of the multitude. During the latter days of the Jewish polity, the office of high-priest fell into contempt on account of the frequent changes which were made in the succession, according to the caprice of the ruling power, whether native or Roman, and the inferior ministers shared in the degradation of their chief. Thus the way was prepared for the exaltation of the rabbis on the ruins of the priesthood, which began after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the final cessation of the authorized worship. The former had, by degrees, obtained the regulation of the synagogues and schools established throughout Judea and other parts of the empire; and by these institutions supplying, in some measure, the place of the Temple and the Aaronitic rites, they prevented their countrymen from sinking into the dense mass of heathenism around.

A kind of academical degree was conferred on the pupils in these seminaries, as well as in those afterwards established in Mesopotamia. The circumstances attending the admission to such honors were the following:—The candidate was first examined with regard to his moral character and literary attainments; and having satisfactorily passed through this ordeal, he ascended an elevated seat, where he received a writing tablet, to signify that he ought to make use of the pen, to prevent his acquisitions from being lost through the treacherousness of memory. He was likewise presented with a key, emblematic of his capacity to open to

the unlearned the treasures of science. Hands were next laid upon him, and he received authority to exercise an inspection over his own disciples. Finally, in the school of Tiberias, he was saluted with the title of Rabbi; while in the Babylonian academy, the young teacher was honored with the appellation of Master.*

In the reign of Trajan, the Jews again raised the standard of rebellion. While that prince was engaged in the Parthian war, those of Egypt and Cyrene took up arms, either galled by some fresh persecution, or impelled by the wish, always natural to a conquered people, of throwing off the yoke of their oppressors, even though not remarkably severe. The most dreadful cruelties are said to have been perpetrated by them on the Egyptians and Cyrenians; and at Cyprus also, where the insurgents were headed by Artemio, they massacred two hundred and forty thousand of their fellow-subjects. But their career was speedily ended. Adrian, nephew to the emperor, landed with a large force, defeated the rebels in battle, and expelled them from the island, making it a capital crime for any one of their nation to set his foot in it. Martius Turbo suppressed the revolt in Cyrene and Egypt, inflicting a terrible vengeance. Tradition affirms that six hundred thousand Jews perished.

About the same time a similar rebellion broke out in Mesopotamia. That province had long been subject to the Parthians, and the descendants of Israel had there lived in peace, enjoying the free exercise of their religion. The victories of Trajan, however, transferred their country to the Roman empire, and they found reason to lament the change, probably from the exactions of the soldiery, and the extension to them of that odious capitation-tax, which so severely pressed upon the feelings of their brethren in other parts. L. Quietus, reckoned the best general of Rome, was sent against the insurgents, with orders to expel them from the whole province; an object he was unable to accomplish, though he defeated them after an obstinate resistance. Adrian, who

* Upham's Translation of Jahn's Biblical Antiquities, part i., chap. 6.

succeeded Trajan on the throne, abandoned the conquests of his predecessor, deeming them burdensome rather than advantageous; and thus the Mesopotamian Jews again fell under the mild yoke of the Parthian kings.*

At the death of Trajan, (117 A. C.,) Hadrian ascended the throne; and it is not a matter of surprise that the new emperor should entertain no very favorable sentiments towards the Jews. He had been an eye-witness of the horrible massacre which had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus; he had seen the voluptuous Italian groves reeking with blood, or covered with the carnage of their inhabitants; and had beheld the gay and splendid cities reduced to the silence of desolation. It is not improbable that the same mischiefs might seem to be brooding in Palestine An edict, therefore, was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism. It interdicted circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observance of the Sabbath. This was followed by a measure, if possible, still more exasperating. The emperor announced his determination to annihilate at once all hopes of the restoration of the Holy City, by the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and the construction of a fane, dedicated to Jupiter, on the site of the fallen temple. The Jews looked on with dismay, with anguish, with secret thoughts of revenge, and at length with awakened hopes of deliverance. It was an opinion deeply rooted in the hearts of the Israelitish nation, that in the darkest hour of their destiny, when the chosen race were at the extreme climax of degradation and wretchedness, the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make his sudden and glorious appearance. That hour was now arrived. The degradation of Judah was complete; the seed of Abraham were crushed and oppressed to the uttermost; they were sounding the lowest depths of their misery; and, by the prohibition of their distinctive rite, the very race was in danger of becoming extinct. Just at this eventful period it was announced that the Messiah had made his appearance;

* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iv. ii. Basnage, book vi. chap. viii.

that he was come in power and in glory; and his name fulfilled the great prophecy of Balaam. Barcochab* was that star which was to "arise out of Jacob." Wonders attended upon his person; he breathed flames from his mouth, which, no doubt, would burn up the strength of the oppressor, and wither the armies of the Romans. Rabbi Akiba,† the great-

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* Bar-cochab, *the Son of the Star*, afterwards changed by his disappointed countrymen into Bar-cosba, *the Son of a Lie*. The real name and origin of this arch-impostor is unknown. He is said to have been a robber, and had learned, probably from the Egyptians, the juggler's trick of keeping lighted tow or straw in his mouth; which led his credulous followers to imagine that he breathed flames of fire.

† R. Akiba is stated, upon rabbinical authority, not to be of the pure blood of Israel, but descended (such is the rabbinical genealogy) from Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother. For forty years he lived a simple shepherd, tending the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem, named Calba Sheva.* He became enamored of his master's daughter: the wealthy Jew rejected the indigent shepherd, who was an alien from the race of Israel. But the lovers were secretly married, and Akiba left his bride immediately, and spent twelve years in study under the tuition of R. Eliezer, and R. Joshua. He returned, it is said, with twelve thousand disciples. But the unrelenting father had disinherited his daughter. They lived in the greatest penury; and she bore her first child on a bed of straw. Akiba went back for twelve years more to the seat of learning. He returned again, followed by twenty-four thousand disciples; and her father at length, appeased or overawed by the fame of his son-in-law, broke his vow of implacable resentment, and bestowed on them sufficient property to enable them to live in splendor. A thousand volumes would not contain the wonderful things which Akiba did and said. He could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the law. A striking story is told of Akiba. His great maxim was, that "every thing is ordained of Heaven for the best." With this axiom on his lips, he was riding with his followers near the ruins of Jerusalem. They burst into tears at the melancholy sight; for to heighten their grief, they beheld a jackall prowling upon the Hill of the Temple. Akiba only observed, that "the very successes of the idolatrous Romans, as they fulfilled the words of the prophets, were grounds of loftier hopes for the people of God."

* From Calab, dog, and Saba, full, or satisfied. According to the tradition of the Rabbis, this man was very wealthy and hospitable: when any one entered his house hungry as a dog, he was sure to be filled.

est of the rabbis, who, though now far advanced in years, exerted himself to swell the forces of the impostor with all the zeal and fire of youth. He was looked up to with profound homage by thousands of admiring disciples, acknowledged the claims of this new Messiah, and openly attached himself to his interest. "Behold," exclaimed the hoary enthusiast, "behold the Star that is come out of Jacob; the days of the redemption are at hand."

The whole Jewish race were now in commotion, and speedily broke out into bold and open rebellion. Barcochab found himself at the head of two hundred thousand followers. His first expedition was to make himself master of Jerusalem, of the rude town which had grown up amid the wreck and desolation. Here he unfurled his banner, and vast numbers rallied around him, actuated by an enthusiasm as frantic and futile as that which had laid their city and temple in ashes. Barcochab openly assumed the title of king, and is said to have issued coins bearing his superscription, and with the year of the freedom of Jerusalem as the date.* He prudently avoided a battle in the open field, and pursued a deliberate system of defensive warfare. On the arrival of the famous Julius Severus to take the command, he found the Jews in possession of fifty of the strongest fortresses and nine hundred and eighty-five unwalled towns. The Romans experienced considerable losses, and were opposed with obstinate valor; but, at length, the discipline of the troops and the consummate generalship of Severus, brought the war nearly to a close. The strong city of Bither † alone remained in the hands of the insurgents. This also was stormed and taken, Barcochab was slain, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. Great multi-

* Tychsen and others have concluded, from extant coins, that Barcochab was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, it was from 132 to 135 A. C. The coins, however, are of very doubtful date and authority.

† The precise situation of this city is not known. It is placed by Eusebius near Beth-horon, by others near the sea-coast.

tudes of his followers were put to the sword, and the remainder scattered. Hadrian, to annihilate forever all hopes of the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, accomplished his plan of founding a new city on the site of Jerusalem, and planting a Roman colony there; thus decreeing the disinheritance of the Jew, the perpetual alienation of the soil, and its legal appropriation to a foreign foe. The city was called Ælia Capitolina; Ælia after the prænomen of the emperor, (Ælius Hadrian,) and Capitolina to intimate its dedication to the Jupiter of the capitol. An edict was issued prohibiting any Jew from entering the new city, under pain of death, or even approaching its environs within three miles; so as to contemplate at a distance that which he regarded as the dearest spot upon earth. More effectually to keep them away, the image of a hog in marble was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The more peaceful Christians were permitted to establish themselves within the walls, and Ælia became the seat of a flourishing church and bishopric.

CHAPTER VIII.

Power of the Patriarchate of Tiberias—The Mishna and Gemara—Jews and Samaritans under Severus—Caracalla—Heliogabalus—Alexander Severus—Zenobia of Jewish descent—Princedom of the Captivity—The Babylonian Talmud—The Jerusalem Talmud—Jews in China.

Under the mild government of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their former privileges, but were still excluded from Jerusalem and its environs. During the reign of the philosopher Marcus Aurelius, Avidius Cassius, who subdued Mesopotamia, and thereby brought its Jewish inhabitants again under the Roman yoke, having assumed the title of emperor, was shortly after slain by his own soldiers. The Jews in Syria and Palestine espoused his cause, and

thus provoked Marcus to repeal the favorable laws of his predecessor. It is probable, however, that his edict was either soon abrogated, or never carried into execution, for during a long period the proscribed race flourished in peace. The Western Jews formed themselves into a community, which acknowledged, as its spiritual head, Simon, son of Gamaliel, who, having received the titles of patriarch, and president of the Sanhedrim, fixed his residence at Tiberias. Those who dwelt at Babylon, had established a pontiff of their own; but Simon, having previously confirmed his prerogative at home, succeeded in subjecting the others to his spiritual yoke. The authority of this patriarch was now admitted by the descendants of Abraham, wherever they had taken up their abode. His legates visited the synagogues throughout the world, to settle all differences which might arise, to receive the tribute levied every year in May, and to warn the people against all attempts to seduce them from the faith. The early Christian writers assert that these apostles traversed the empire for the purpose of anathematizing Jesus of Nazareth and his followers. It is certain that the Jews manifested the most bitter hatred towards his followers, which they testified by exciting the rabble against them; and in particular, at the death of Polycarp, by endeavoring to persuade the Roman governor to deny the martyr's body to his friends, alleging that they intended to renounce Christ and worship him.* Yet, it is manifest, the believers did not relax in their efforts to convince their Hebrew brethren; and these attempts were sometimes crowned with success. Thus Hegesippus, an author of the second century, and the first ecclesiastical historian, was a converted Israelite.† Justin Martyr held a conference at Ephesus with Trypho, whom Eusebius terms "the most distinguished among the Hebrews of the day," and who is supposed to be the same with R. Tarphon, an associate of Akiba, and much

* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iv. 15.

† His works have unfortunately perished, but some fragments of them are preserved by Eusebius.

celebrated in the Jewish writings. This disputation, however, proved unavailing to shake his attachment to Judaism.*

Simon was succeeded in the patriarchate by his son, Rabbi Jehuda, surnamed the Holy, from the purity of his life; and it being reported that he was born on the day on which Akiba died, his admirers compared him to the rising, as they did the other to the setting sun. He collected into one code the various traditions, interpretations of the written law, and decisions of the learned, which had previously existed in an unconnected state. This code was called the Mishna. Mishna denotes a second law. The Jews believe that all the precepts of the law, given to Moses, were accompanied with an interpretation. They say that God first dictated the text as it is written in the Pentateuch, and then gave Moses an explication of every part of it. It was commanded that the text should be put into writing, and the explanation committed to memory, to be communicated to that generation, and transmitted to posterity by word of mouth. Hence the former is called the written law, and the latter the oral law.

When Moses came down from the mount, he delivered both these laws to the people. As soon as he was returned to his tent, he was attended by Aaron, who sat at his feet, and to whom he recited the text and taught the interpretation which he received from God in the mount. Then Aaron rising and seating himself on the right hand of Moses, Eleazer and Ithamar entered, and Moses repeated to them all that he had communicated to their father; after which they arose and seated themselves, one on the left hand of Moses, and the other on the right hand of Aaron. Then went in the seventy elders, and Moses taught them in the same manner as he had taught Aaron and his sons. Afterwards entered the congregation at large, or all of them who

* According to Justin Martyr, the rabbis endeavored to prevent their followers from conversing with Christians upon the subject of religion. (Dial. with Tryph. c. 38.)

were desirous of knowing the Divine will; and to them also Moses recited the text and the interpretation, in the same manner as before. These two laws, as delivered by Moses, had now been heard by Aaron four times, by his sons three times, by the seventy elders twice, and by the rest of the people once. After this, Moses withdrawing, Aaron repeated the whole that he had heard from Moses, and withdrew; then Eleazer and Ithamar did the same; and on their withdrawing, the same was done by the seventy elders: so that each of them, having heard both these laws repeated four times, they all had them firmly fixed in their memories. Towards the end of the fortieth year after the departure from Egypt, Moses assembled the people, announced the time of his death to be near, directed those who had forgotten any tradition he had delivered, to come to him, that he might repeat it to them anew, and invited them to apply to him for a solution of all questions in which they found any difficulty. The last month of his life was employed in giving these repetitions and explications to the people, and especially to Joshua and his successor. Before Joshua died, all the interpretations which he had received from Moses were transmitted by him to the elders who survived him. These elders conveyed them to the prophets, and by one prophet they were delivered to another. In every generation the president of the Sanhedrim, or prophet of his age, for his own private use, wrote notes of these traditions, but taught in public only by word of mouth. Thus matters proceeded, no part of the oral law being committed to writing for public perusal, from the time of Moses to the days of Rabbi Jehuda. This celebrated rabbi observed that all the students of the law were gradually diminishing in number; that difficulties and distresses were multiplying; that the kingdom of iniquity (by which he designated Christianity) was increasing in strength, and extending itself over the world; and that the people of Israel were driven to the ends of the earth. Fearing, lest in these circumstances the traditions would be forgotten and lost, he collected them all, arranged them, and divided them into six parts or orders.

1. *The first part is entitled Zeraim, (of seeds,) and treats of agriculture, and the laws relating to it.*

2. *The second is called Moed, (of festivals,) and treats of the observance of the Sabbath and other holidays.*

3. *The third is called Nashim, (of women,) and treats of the ceremonies of marriage and divorce, and of other matters relative to the intercourse between the sexes.*

4. *The fourth is called Nezikin, (of damages,) and treats of the laws regulating the conduct of men in civilized communities, and of the punishment due to their infraction.*

5. *The fifth is called Kodashim, (of things holy,) and treats of offerings.*

6. *The sixth is called Tahoroth, (of purifications,) and treats of the mode in which persons and things become unclean, and of the ceremonies to be observed in their purification.*

The Mishna soon acquired all the authority which its compiler could desire, and even practically supplanted the Law of Moses, which henceforth remained in a mysterious obscurity, akin to that which enveloped the Bible in the dark ages of the church. The progress of commenting, however, was not arrested by this compilation, and a vast mass of supplementary tradition was gradually accumulated, which was afterwards embodied in the Talmuds of Babylon and Jerusalem.

The rabbinical sovereigns of Tiberias, at the first establishment of their dominion, showed a greater spirit of toleration towards the Samaritans, than had characterized the Jewish people in the later period of their existence as a separate nation. This change in their demeanor was first introduced by the authority of Akiba, who is supposed to have formed a scheme for uniting into one firm league all who claimed Israelitish descent. But this spirit of amity soon passed away, and the rival sects resumed that hostility which had formerly disgraced their intercourse. In the contest for the empire between Severus and Pescennius

Niger, the Jews espoused the cause of the former, the Samaritans that of the latter. Severus punished the one by depriving them of their privileges as Roman citizens; and rewarded the fidelity of the other by confirming the favorable edict of Antoninus Pius. He, besides, permitted them to enjoy various offices and distinctions, while he exempted them from the necessity of discharging functions such as those of decursions, which were generally shunned on account of their expense and inconvenience.* The same emperor persecuted the Christians, and the Jews showed themselves by no means backward to insult the hated sect of the Nazarenes. Yet, favored as they were by the monarch, they were still forbidden to approach the Holy City; and Tertullian, who at this period wrote his Apology, upbraided them as wanderers over the face of the earth, who were not allowed even to set foot within their native land.

The members of each religion alike claim the honor of having furnished a nurse to Caracalla, the tyrannical successor of Severus. A rabbinical tradition asserts, that when a child, he wept bitterly upon seeing one of his playmates whipped by order of his father, who was a Jew. Few traces of such sympathy can be found in the future conduct of this ruler, who provoked the universal hatred of mankind during a reign of six years. It does not, however, appear that he persecuted the Hebrews on account of their belief, though they doubtless shared in the general misery of the empire under his oppressive administration.

Among the various whims which Heliogabalus displayed, while seated on the imperial throne, must be classed his adoption of the Jewish customs of circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh. Yet it is said that the same people were only saved by his death from a persecution, which must have overtaken them, on their refusal to wor-

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* An account of the Decursions will be found in Professor Spalding's Italy and the Italian Islands, (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Nos. XXIX. XXX. XXXI.) vol. i. p. 113—115.

ship the god whose name he bore,* and who he had determined should be the only deity adored throughout the empire.

During the thirteen years in which the prudent and amiable Alexander Severus adorned the purple, the Jews as well as the Christians enjoyed his protection and favor; he even placed an image of Abraham in his private chapel, among the persons whom he deemed worthy of divine honor. The wits of that time gave him the nickname of Ruler of the Synagogue.†

The Jewish history is marked by few events from the reign of Alexander to that of Constantine. Perhaps from the smallness of their numbers, they did not excite that jealousy at Rome which was so frequently directed against the Christians in the most cruel persecutions.‡ They might, besides, derive some glory from the brief but splendid career of Zenobia, the Queen of the East, who was of Israelitish extraction; and the commercial spirit, for which they were already remarkable, would contribute to the wealth of her favorite city Palmyra. But Athanasius, at the same time, commends this princess for her toleration of the believers, affirming that she never permitted the churches to be converted into synagogues; and contrasts this conduct with that of the Arian emperors, who without scruple wrested from the orthodox party their places of worship, in order to bestow them on their own heretical followers. During her reign, Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, is said to have

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* The emperor had taken the name of this divinity as being his priest.

† Basnage, book vi. chap. xii.

‡ M. Capefigue (History of the Jews,) ascribes the tranquillity and even favor which that people generally enjoyed, from the reign of Antoninus Pius to that of Diocletian, to the influence of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, the object of which was to represent all the various forms of religion as modifications of one common system, and therefore equally entitled to respect. An exception to this principle was made in the case of Christianity, whose rapid progress excited in the minds of the Neo-Platonists a hostility which was not called forth by the unproselytizing temper of Judaism.

endeavored to bring about a union between Judaism and Christianity. But, as might have been anticipated, his efforts were indignantly rejected by both parties; and he met with the just reward of his heartless latitudinarianism, in being deprived of his see by the council of Antioch.

During this period, the Jews, in the province of Mesopotamia, were in a most flourishing condition. We have already stated that the Babylonian pontiff, who took the title of Prince of the Captivity, had been obliged to acknowledge the superiority of Simon, the first patriarch of Tiberias. But this submission, which from the first was very unwillingly paid, was probably of no long continuance, and it is certain that the oriental priest speedily outshone his rival in splendor and authority. He assumed much of the pomp and royalty, was inaugurated with great splendor, and maintained the stately seclusion peculiar to Eastern sovereigns, seldom leaving his palace except to visit the schools of the learned, which began to equal the most celebrated institutions of Palestine. The court of this Jewish prince was modelled after the fashion of his Persian master, and rabbis, instead of satraps, were appointed over the various communities. It is probable that such magnificence was supported by a tribute levied from the people, in place of that which in former times had been paid for the support of the Temple at Jerusalem. Many of the Jews in that quarter were so rich, that it was said of one of their merchants at Babylon, that he possessed one thousand vessels on the sea and one thousand cities on land.

The splendor of the Prince of the Captivity, and the wealth of his subjects, attest the peace and indulgence which they enjoyed during the continuance of the Parthian dynasty. Nor does their condition appear to have been altered for the worse, by the revolution which took place about the year 226, whereby that line was destroyed, and Artaxerxes, a descendant of the ancient Persian monarchs, was placed upon the throne. The new monarch, it is true, while he restored the Magian religion to its former supremacy, prohibited by an edict the exercise of every other. But

the industry and commercial spirit of the Jews soon induced him to relax the severity of his decree, in order to retain these useful persons in his dominions. Such is the conclusion, which, in the absence of positive testimony, it seems warrantable to draw from the manner in which their wealth increased and their learning flourished during the third century. At this epoch the schools of Nahardea, Sora, and Pumbeditha, attained to great celebrity; and, in the estimation of the Eastern Jews, were well entitled to dispute the palm even with the far-famed academy of Tiberias itself.* The heads of these institutions in some measure shared the authority of the Prince of the Captivity, and their decisions were regarded with reverence throughout all Mesopotamia.

During this period of peace and prosperity, it is most probable that the Babylonian Talmud was composed. This stupendous work, which was compiled under the superintendance of Rabbi Asche, contains the opinions of about thirteen hundred learned men. It exacted the unremitted labor of thirty years. It consists of two parts, the Mishna, which we have already noticed, and the Gemara, or commentary. This compilation has been termed "an extraordinary monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly; and is designated the *Babylonian Talmud*, and very properly so, for it is an extraordinary Babel, or most inconceivable mixture of political economy, ethics, a little astronomy, logic, metaphysics, jurisprudence, allegories, and fables, of the most ridiculous and contemptible nature. Mr. Finn, in his "Sephardim," rightly styles it "one of the most trashy and cumbrous impositions that ever depraved a nation's intellect, or undermined their moral principles, not superior, if equal, to the Koran, and only one step above the legends of Hindoo Bramins: containing indeed a few spangles of gold, the relics of a pure tradition, but the

* That seminary had previously been regarded as a Jewish Athens, in which a residence for some time was necessary in order to entitle a scholar to a reputation for learning.

greater part being of base metal encrusted with a poisonous oxide." The reader, at each successive extract, hesitates whether to admire the views of profound allegorical truth and the pleasing moral apologue, to smile at the monstrous extravagance, or to shudder at the daring blasphemy. To the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle within which the national mind patiently labored for ages, in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters who drew the sacred line beyond which it might not venture to pass.

Previous to the undertaking of this great work, a similar one had been accomplished in Palestine, which received the name of the Talmud of Jerusalem. This was executed by Rabbi Johanan, with the assistance of two other Hebrews named Rab and Samuel; but authors are not agreed as to the precise period when the latter compilation was made. As the emperor Diocletian is mentioned in it, it could not have been completed before the end of the third century. It is less voluminous and less esteemed than the other; and it has been supposed that the rival treatise was commenced on account of the dissatisfaction which prevailed in regard to the meagreness of the Jerusalem Talmud, as well as with the barbarous dialect in which it was written.

The authority of the Prince of the Captivity probably extended over all the Jews scattered throughout the various provinces of the Persian empire. Before this time some of them had established themselves in China;* where their

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* Mr. Finn's work, containing a history of the Jews in China, is divided into five chapters, which treat on the following subjects:—

"I. Discovery and Intercourse.

"II. The Synagogue.

"III. Scripture and Literature.

"IV. Inscriptions, History, &c.

"V. Reflections."

The following is the account which Mr. F. gives of the large synagogue in Kae-fung-foo:

"The whole place of worship occupies a space of between three and four hundred feet in length, by about one hundred and fifty in breadth,

descendants were found by the Jesuit missionaries, in the seventeenth century, though reduced from seventy families to seven. They had no knowledge of Christ or his religion, —a fact which may lead us to suppose that they had settled

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comprising four successive courts, advancing from the east to the synagogue itself at the extreme west.

"The first court has in its centre 'a large, noble, beautiful arch,' (Pae-fang,) bearing a golden inscription in Chinese, dedicating the locality to the Creator and Preserver of all things. There are also some trees interspersed.

"The second court is entered from the first, by a large gate with two side doors, and two wickets beside them. Its walls are flanked to the north and south by dwellings for the keepers of the edifice.

"The third court has the same kind of entrance from the second as that has from the first. In its centre stands an arch like that in the first court. Upon the walls, between the trees, are marble tablets *(Pae-wan,)* with inscriptions in Chinese. Part of this court is flanked by commemorative chapels: that on the south, in memory of an Israelite mandarin named Chao, the judge of a city of second degree, who formerly rebuilt the synagogue after its destruction by fire: that on the north, in memory of him who erected all the present edifice. There are also some reception rooms for guests.

"The fourth court is parted in two by a row of trees. Half way along this line stands a great brazen vase for incense, at the sides of which are placed two figures of lions, upon marble pedestals; and at the westward sides of these lions are two large brazen vases, containing flowers. Adjoining the northern wall is a recess, in which the nerves and sinews are extracted from animals slain for food. The second division of this court is an empty space, with a 'hall of ancestors' (Tsoo-tang) at each of its sides to the north and to the south. In these they venerate, at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the worthies of the Old Testament history, after the Chinese manner, but having merely the name of the person upon each tablet, without his picture. The only furniture these contain are a great number of censers; the largest one in honor of Abraham, and the rest, of Isaac, Jacob, the twelve sons of Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Ezra, and others, both male and female. In the open space between these chapels, they erect their annual booths of boughs and flowers, at the Feast of Tab ernacles.

"Then occurs the synagogue itself, a building of about sixty feet by forty, covered by a fourfold and handsome roof, having a portico with a double row of four columns, and a balustrade before it.

there before the coming of our Lord; as it seems unlikely that they should, even in the course of so many ages, have lost all memory of so remarkable a personage. Being industrious, they were much esteemed by their heathen

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"Within this edifice the roofs (as usual in Chinese domestic architecture) are sustained by rows of pillars besides the walls. In the centre of all is 'the throne of Moses,' a magnificent and elevated chair, with an embroidered cushion, upon which they place the book of the law while it is read. Over this a dome is suspended: and near it is the Wan-suy-pae, or tablet, with the emperor's name in golden characters, enclosed within a double line of scroll-work. This, however, is surmounted by the inscription in Hebrew letters of gold:—

HEAR, O ISRAEL:
THE LORD OUR GOD IS ONE LORD.
BLESSED BE THE NAME OF THE GLORY OF HIS KINGDOM FOR EVER AND EVER.

After this, a triple arch bears the following inscription, likewise in Hebrew:—

BLESSED BE THE LORD FOR EVER.
THE LORD IS GOD OF GODS, AND THE LORD
A GREAT GOD, STRONG AND TERRIBLE.

Then a large table, upon which are placed six candelabra in one line, with a great vase for incense, having handles, and a tripod standing, half way along the line. These candelabra are in *three* different forms, and bear *three* different kinds of lights. Those nearest the vase bear torches, the next on each side have candles, and those at the extremities, ornamental lanterns. Near this table is a laver for washing hands.

"Lastly, the Beth-el, or *Teen-tang* (house of heaven) square in outward shape, but rounded within. Into this none but the rabbi may enter during the time of prayer. Here, upon separate tables, stand twelve rolls of the law, corresponding to the tribes of Israel, besides one in the centre in honor of Moses, each enclosed in a tent of silken curtains. On the extreme western wall are the tablets of the Ten Commandments, in golden letters of Hebrew. Beside each of these tablets is a closet containing manuscript books, and in front of each closet a table, bearing a vase and two candelabra.

"The congregation, when assembled for devotion, are separated from the Beth-el by a balustrade, some standing in recesses along the walls. Against a column is suspended a calendar for the reading of the law." (Page 16—20.)

It appears that the Jews in China have been most remarkable in their

neighbors, and some of them had attained the rank of mandarins. They strictly observed the Sabbath, practised circumcision on the eighth day, possessed copies of the law, and intermarried only among themselves. They had no desire to make proselytes,—a circumstance which probably contributed to the esteem in which they were held. Their

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steadfast and silent opposition to the heathenish forms of religious worship which have prevailed around them.

"Their alienation from idolatry is particularly striking, after so long an exposure to the superstitions of the country, guided as these are by imperial influence. They refuse to take an oath in an idol temple; and the conspicuous inscriptions upon the walls and arches proclaim their steadfastness in this matter, even upon that delicate point of the emperor's name, which in the synagogue they have surmounted by the most significant of possible warnings against confounding any reverence whatever with that due to the 'blessed and only Potentate.'

"Nor must we omit to remark their interesting practice of praying westwards, towards Jerusalem." (Page 25.)

They have also been faithful in preserving those oracles of God which have been committed to them.

"As we have already seen, the synagogue of Kae-fung-foo possesses thirteen copies of the law, kept within coverings of silk. These are denominated *Ta-king*, or Temple-Scripture. The rolls measure about two feet in length, and are rather more than one foot in diameter.

"Besides these, there is in the Beth-el a large number of nearly square books (not rolls) of about seven inches by five, some new, others very old; but all much neglected, and lying in confusion. The people classified them nominally, as follows:—

"1. *Ta-king*, in fifty-three books, each containing one section of the law, for the Sabbath-days.

"2. *Tsin-soo*, or supplementary books; called Ha-foo-ta-la, or Haphtorah. These are portions of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Prophets.

"3. Historical books, viz:—Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, (four or five of the first chapters), and the two first books of Maccabees, called Mattathi, the latter whole, but not in good condition.

"*Keang-chang*, or the Expositors. These are much defaced, and have lost their titles. The brief liesure of the missionaries did not allow of a close examination into these books, their attention having been especially directed to the law of Moses.

"5. *Le-pae*, the ritual or ceremonial books, about fifty in number, and

place of worship, like the temple of Jerusalem, had a Holy of Holies, in which were kept the sacred manuscripts, and into which none but the chief priest was allowed to enter. They maintained too the distinguished tenet of the Israelitish creed, by cherishing a fond anticipation of the Messiah.

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slightly differing in shape from the rest. One of these bears on its cover the title 'The Perpetual Afternoon-Service.'" (Pages 28, 29.)

An important question must naturally arise concerning the period when this colony of Hebrews first settled in China. Men greatly distinguished for their acquirements in Oriental literature have framed a theory from other sources that they derive their origin from the ten tribes of Israel. The accounts of the missionaries, however, and the popular summaries of the same, have, unreservedly, spoken of them as belonging to the tribes of Judah.

Mr. Finn adduces the following arguments in support of the latter supposition:—

"But that the Hebrews in Ho-nan are Jews of the restoration from Chaldæa, is evident from the following considerations:—

"1. The tablets speak of a tradition of the law from its origin to the time of Ezra, 'the second law-giver and reformer of the people;' a description which implies a knowledge of the re-establishment in Jerusalem.

"2. They possess, besides some portion of the prophetical books written after the captivity of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, a few verses of Daniel, and the book of Esther, (whom they venerate under the title of 'the great mother,') in which the word *Jew* occurs many times, although the words *Israel* and *Israelite* are not found there at all.

"3. Their Haphtorah (a selection dating only from the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, about A. C. 170) comprises portions out of prophets who lived in Jerusalem during the second temple, as Zechariah and Malachi.

"4. They have adopted the Celeucidan era of chronology.

"5. In the list of rabbis annexed to the section-book, *Bereshith*, are found the titles, 'our master, our rabbi,' &c., which give it quite a Talmudic complexion: and they have rabbinical rules for slaughtering.

"The synagogue inscription over the emperor's tablet, is a verse from Scripture, frequently repeated in Jewish liturgies to the present day.

"The force of all the above reasons might indeed be abated, by taking into account, that for several centuries their sacred books, and some of their teachers have reached them from another country in the west, and concluding that thus only may have been imported the later Scriptures and Jewish peculiarities. But this conclusion is entirely gratuitous, without evidence of even the lowest degree.

CHAPTER IX.

The Establishment of Christianity as the National Religion—Edicts of Constantine—Jerusalem becomes a Place of Christian Pilgrimage—Persecution of the Christians in Persia excited by the Jews—Rebellion in Palestine, and consequent decrees of Constantius—Conversion of Epiphanius—Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem—Intolerant Zeal of Ambrose—Jerome studies under various Rabbis—Remarkable Conversion of the Jews in Minorca—Theodosius II. prohibits the celebration of the Feast of Purim—Contests between the Jews and Christians—Tumult at Alexandria—Moses at Crete—Suppression of the Patriarchate of Tiberias.—From A. D. 340 to A. D. 434.

Little impression was made on the minds of the Jews by the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, in the person of Constantine. As their forefathers had shut their eyes to the miracles which attested the divine character and mission of our Savior, so they would not regard it as any proof of the favor of God that the religion of the Gospel was now embraced and favored by the emperor. They probably thought that the Almighty, for wise but mysterious reasons,

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"That this, however, is a very ancient off-shoot from the Jerusalem Jews, anterior, probably, to the incarnation of Christ, seems plain, from their ignorance of his name Jesus, 'that which is above every name,' until it was mentioned to them by the missionaries; perhaps, also, from their indifference towards the crucifix; from their freedom from rabbinical despotism; and, above all, from those religious usages in which they differ from all Jews known elsewhere, such as reading the law through a veil, erecting a throne for Moses, together with their diversity in the sections of the law, and in their ritual of worship. But these will not lead us to declare their descent from the ten tribes." (Page 58—60.)

There are many other particulars mentioned in this work which we would gladly notice, but we abstain, hoping that it will be extensively perused with the attention it so highly deserves.

had permitted a temporary victory to the hated Nazarenes, while he still cherished the descendants of Abraham as his peculiar people, and was resolved, in his own good time, fully to recompense them for every trial of their faith and patience, by the glorious successes and lasting triumph of the long expected Messiah. On the other hand, the Christians, embittered by previous misfortunes, or intoxicated by present prosperity, might be disposed to revenge on the adherents of Judaism the injuries which they had so often sustained from them; being sensible that the zealous Israelites looked upon them as apostates from their God, and regarded them with a fiercer abhorrence than they cherished towards the most bigoted votaries of Paganism. Those of them whose minds were unenlightened and unsanctified by a right appreciation of the spirit of the Gospel, might imagine that they were doing Jehovah a service by persecuting the progeny of those unhappy men who had, with unhallowed violence, demanded the crucifixion of the Lord of glory, and with a fierce and desperate fanaticism exclaimed, "His blood be on us and on our children." Hurried away by zeal without knowledge, they might forget that Jesus had wept over the guilty city itself when he thought of its approaching downfall, thereby teaching his followers, that pity, not hatred, ought to be the predominant feeling in their hearts towards their Jewish brethren.

Yet the intolerant maxims of too many of the clergy and people were by no means responded to by the emperor; for Constantine, who allowed his Pagan subjects the free exercise of their worship, extended the same indulgence to the progeny of Jacob. He, however, deprived the body at large of the liberty of refusing the decurionate and other burdensome offices, as this invidious distinction had excited the murmurs of the Christians. By another edict he made all Jews, who should in any way endanger the life of a convert, liable to the punishment of being burnt alive,—a measure which showed what they might have to apprehend from their determined hatred of the new faith. Nor was this statute founded on vague inferences of their intolerant

temper, for the Mishna sanctioned the destruction of all who abandoned the creed of their fathers, and by the zealous Jew that code was regarded with implicit veneration. During the reign of Constantine, all believers were forbidden to embrace the rites of Moses, under pain of an arbitrary punishment, and Jews were interdicted from possessing Christian slaves. This latter enactment, though renewed by Constantius, was repealed by Honorius, who merely required masters to give their bondmen full liberty to worship God as they might deem right.

But the Jews were still more irritated by the manner in which the Holy City was adorned by the munificence of the converted emperor. The name of Ælia had supplanted the original term, at least among the Pagans, insomuch that when one of the martyrs, in the persecution of Maximin, on being asked of what city he was, answered, "of Jerusalem," neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants, knew what place he meant. But Constantine restored its ancient appellation, and beautified it with so many splendid edifices, that Eusebius irreverently imagined it might be the New Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. Helena, the mother of the emperor, reared the stately church of the Holy Sepulchre on Mount Calvary; thus, as it were, attesting the victory which the religion of the cross had gained ever the rival creeds of Judaism and Heathenism. Pilgrims began to flock from all quarters of the world to the place where the Lord had taught, suffered, and expired; and the natural feelings of reverence with which they approached the scene of his crucifixion, were augmented by the sight of the reputed instruments of his passion. The age was in no small degree credulous and superstitious; and believed, with implicit faith, that the nails, the cross, the spear, and the crown of thorns then exhibited, were indeed the very implements employed in the Savior's agonies. This concourse of pious visitors could not but prove exceedingly offensive to the seed of Israel.

About the same time, the council of Illiberis in Spain, made two enactments against the Jews, who were very

numerous in that country,* forbidding the Christians, under pain of excommunication, to eat with them; and prohibiting, under the same penalty, the former to offer up at rural festivities their usual prayer for a blessing upon the fruits of the earth. They alleged that such petitions were displeasing to God, and would mar the effect of the benedictions of the church.

In the time of Constantine the Jews revenged themselves, by exciting a furious persecution against the believers in Persia. The Gospel having penetrated into that country through Armenia, whose king, Tiridates, had been converted to the true faith, made considerable progress; and among others, Ustasades, one of the chief ministers of Sapor the Second, embraced it. This provoked the Hebrews, who, combining with the Magi against the Christians, accused their bishop of a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, and thus worked so far upon the fears of the king as to induce him to allow a general persecution in his dominions. Ustasades was the first martyr, and the churches throughout Persia were levelled with the ground.†

The turbulent spirit of the Jews provoked Constantius to greater severity against them. Their conduct at Alexandria, indeed, disgraceful as it was, could not be displeasing to the emperor, since they joined with the Pagans and Arians in insulting the Trinitarian party, and supporting the claims of Gregory the Cappadocian, who was intruded, by the authority of the court, into the see of which Athanasius had been unjustly deprived. But their rebellious attempt in Palestine might justify, or at least excuse, the course which the monarch adopted. They took advantage of the revolt of Magnentius in the west, and the invasion of

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* The Jews contend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar; that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, tom. 7, c. 9, p. 240—256.

† Basnage, book vi. chap. xiv.

Sapor in the east, to raise an insurrection. This was, however, soon put down by Gallus, the cousin of Constantius and brother of Julian the Apostate, who defeated the rebels, and destroyed Dio Cesarea, the head-quarters of the revolt.

Constantius made it a capital crime for them to marry Christians, or circumcise their slaves. He renewed the edict of Adrian, which forbade their approach to Jerusalem, taxed them heavily, and meditated the imposition of additional burdens upon them, when he was prevented by death from carrying his design into execution. It was in this reign that the conversion of Epiphanius from Judaism is said to have taken place. His biographer states that this change in his religious views was occasioned by a miracle, which he witnessed in the case of a monk, who, having stripped himself to give alms to a beggar, immediately received a robe, which fell from heaven! The convert afterwards became bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, and wrote various works, still extant. He was a man of great learning, and in his knowledge of Hebrew possessed an advantage over most of the Fathers.*

The Jews regarded with joy the accession of Julian the Apostate, not from any love he bore the Jews, but out of hatred to the Christians, whose faith he had abjured, and with the avowed design of defeating the prophecies which declared that the temple should not be rebuilt till the times of the Gentiles were fulfilled, wrote to the Jews a conciliatory epistle, denounced their oppressors, repealed the unequal taxes with which they were loaded, invited them back to their city, and promised to restore their temple and nation. Materials were accumulated from all quarters, and great numbers of workmen were employed to clear the foundations. The work was commenced; already had they dug to a considerable depth, and were preparing to lay the foundations of the new edifice, when balls of fire came bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied by terrific explosions. The affrighted workmen fled on all sides, and the work was suspended

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Basnage, book vi. chap. xiv

at once by this unforeseen and appalling sign. Other phenomena are said to have accompanied this event. An earthquake shook the hill from its circumference to its centre, from its summit to its very base; flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, settled on the dresses of the workmen and spectators; and even the tools of iron were consumed by preternatural fire. It is even added that a mysterious horseman was seen careering among the flames; and that the workmen having fled to a neighboring church, its doors, fastened from within by some unseen force, refused them admittance. These, however, are evident embellishments, and are found only in later and rhetorical writers; but the main fact of the interruption of the work by some extraordinary, and, to all appearance, super-human interference, rests upon testimony, clear, credible, and conclusive. It is attested by Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen, and a personal friend of Julian; by Zemuch David, a Jew; by Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose Ruffinus, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates, who wrote his account within fifty years after the transaction, and while many eye-witnesses of it were still living. So stubborn, indeed, is the proof of this miracle, that even Gibbon, who strives to invalidate it, is compelled to acknowledge the general fact.

The very short reign of Jovian afforded little time for the exhibition of his sentiments towards the Jews. The two brothers, Valentinian and Valens, who next succeeded, maintained that people in the possession of nearly all their rights; but were constrained, by the necessity of the times, to withdraw one of their greatest privileges—exemption from the public service. The words of the decree are as follows:—"The edict upon which the Jews flatter themselves that they are exempted from the offices of court is voided by these presents, for even the clergy are not allowed to consecrate themselves to the service of God without having previously discharged their duty to their country; and he that would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public services."

Although the emperors themselves were sufficiently wil

ling to protect the Jews in the exercise of their religion, and impose upon them merely a just share of the public burdens, they occasionally found it very difficult to restrain the ardent zeal of the more intolerant churchmen, in an age when ecclesiastical authority had attained an alarming height. A memorable instance of this occurred in the reign of Theodosius the Great. A synagogue had been erected in the small town of Callinicum, in the province of Osroene, near the frontiers of Persia. The bishop of the place stirred up the populace, who burnt the synagogue, together with a conventicle of the Valentinian heretics. The turbulent prelate was ordered by the governor of the district either to rebuild the synagogue or pay the damage.* This very reasonable command was confirmed by the emperor; but the affair came to the knowledge of Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, who, from the weight of his private character, exercised a very powerful influence at the imperial court. He boldly wrote to Theodosius, then in the archiepiscopal city, reproving him for his edict, which he considered impious; and asserting that he himself would have no scruple to act, in similar circumstances, as the Bishop of Callinicum had done. His remonstrance had the desired effect, and the intolerance of the Eastern prelate was suffered to remain unpunished. We may admire equally the justice of Ambrose in exacting, and the humility of the emperor in performing, the public penance which was called for by the massacre of Thessalonica; but we must regret that, on this occasion, the pious Archbishop of Milan evinced himself so much a slave to the persecuting principles of his age.†

Although Theodosius, on one occasion, sacrificed the interest of justice in compliance with the injunctions of the eloquent churchmen, he showed himself, at other times, mindful of the course which sound policy, as well as the true spirit of the Gospel, required him to pursue towards the

* It does not appear that any compensation was ordered to be made to the Valentinians.

† Basnage, book vi. chap. xiv. Gibbon, chap. xxvii.

Jews. In an edict, issued shortly before his death, he strictly forbade the Christians to plunder or demolish their synagogues, and commanded the governors of provinces to take care that those who disobeyed this law should be severely punished. By maintaining the Hebrews in the unmolested exercise of their worship, he showed them more favor than he manifested towards the Pagans, whose temples were dismantled, and whose sacrifices were prohibited; or towards the heretics, whose churches were shut up during his reign.

Ambrose, in a letter to this monarch, accused the Jews of disloyalty, asserting that they did not think themselves obliged to obey the laws of the empire. This may have been a hasty inference from their practice of electing judges of their own religion, to whose jurisdiction they submitted their disputes. Chrysostom says that these officers were chosen annually in the month of September; and that, acting under the sanction of the patriarch, had full power to punish offenders belonging to their fraternity, even to the extent of excommunication. Some Jews, thinking themselves aggrieved by the exercise of this authority, had recourse to the Roman tribunals, who enjoined that they should be received back into their society. The judges complained to the emperor, who relieved them from this oppressive interference, and ordered that all disputed cases should be referred to the patriarch and the chief persons of the synagogue.

But even yet they were not allowed to enter Jerusalem, for an edict of Adrian was revived, and guards were posted at the gates to enforce it. We are told by Jerome, that these soldiers used to betray their trust, and suffer themselves to be bribed by the Jews, who thus stole in to weep over the desolation of the Temple, especially on the anniversary of the destruction of the city by Titus.* They seem not to have enjoyed the privilege of visiting the city as long as it remained in the possession of the Emperors of the East.

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* Newton on the Prophecies, Dobson's edit. p. 371.

The Christian clergy at this time were in general ignorant of the Hebrew language ; but Jerome applied himself vigorously to the study of it under various masters. The most distinguished of these was a rabbi, called Barabbanus, who came to him by night, in order to avoid the odium which would have been excited against him among his brethren, if he had openly given instruction to a believer in the Gospel Jerome's intimacy with this learned Jew was ridiculed by his adversary Ruffinus, who gave to the rabbi the nickname of Barabbas. The learned father boasted greatly of his success in this pursuit, and exaggerated the difficulty of the language, in order to acquire the greater renown for his industry in surmounting it. He was regarded by his clerical brethren as a prodigy of erudition.

At the death of Theodosius the Great, the Roman dominions were finally divided into the empires of the East and West. The latter subsisted, though in a state of increasing feebleness, about eighty years, and was then extinguished in the person of Augustulus. There are but few edicts of those princes which have any reference to the race of Abraham. The most important of them forbid the erection of new synagogues, and prohibit the Jews from serving in the army, probably on account of the jealousy of the Christians, who might imagine that the presence of Israelitish warriors would be offensive to the God of battles. Yet it may be doubted whether this latter restriction was regretted by these last, who were chiefly employed in trade, and in all probability shared the feelings of the time, which viewed military service as an intolerable burden. But the most remarkable event of this period, in which they were concerned, was the conversion of upwards of five hundred of their body at Minorca.* In the capital of that island the

* At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, five hundred and forty Jews ; with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such as burning the synagogue, driving the poor oppressed Israelites to starve among the rocks, &c. See the original letter of Severus, Bishop of Minorca, (ad calem St. Augustin, de civ. Dei) and the judicious remarks of Basnage, (tom. viii. p 245—251.)

Jews were numerous and wealthy, and excited the special attention of Severus the bishop, who earnestly desired to gain them to the true faith. The whole circumstances of the case, as related by himself, present a curious picture of the superstition and intolerance of the age. The good prelate was induced to hope for a successful issue to his attempt, from the arrival of the relics of the martyr Stephen, which were brought thither by Orosius the celebrated historian; and also from a vision enjoyed by a widow who implored him to sow her field. He interpreted this request to mean that the synagogue, at present widowed or estranged from God, desired instruction in the principles of the Gospel. He therefore marched at the head of his flock to Magona, where he challenged the Jews, with their leader Theodorus, a man distinguished for his rabbinical learning, to debate with him the points at issue between the two religions. He named the church as the place of conference; but his opponents declined to meet him there, alleging, as their reason, that it was the Sabbath, and that they would be defiled by entering a Christian place of worship. The bishop next proposed the synagogue as the arena of debate; but they refused this request also, probably apprehensive that their sanctuary would be defiled by the presence of the Nazarene multitude. Severus next expostulated with them for having arms stored up in their house of prayer. They denied the truth of the charge; but the bishop, insisting upon ocular evidence of their innocence, set forward with his people to satisfy his curiosity, upon which some Jewish women began to throw stones at them from the windows. This occasioned a quarrel; and the Christians, probably much superior in numbers, made themselves masters of the synagogue, and destroyed it, preserving only the books of the law and the utensils of silver. The former they carried in triumph to the church, the latter they restored to the rightful owners; but no mention is made of any arms having been found. Three days after, the Jews assembled amidst the ruins of their edifice, and the others also flocked thither. Theodorus made an eloquent speech in defence of his creed,

which Severus admits he was not very well prepared to answer ; but an accident discomfited his antagonists. Some Christians, anxious to win over so formidable an opponent, cried out, "Theodorus, believe in Christ." The Jews mistook the words, thinking that they were "Theodorus believes in Christ;" and being panic-struck by this unexpected announcement, they dispersed on all sides. Their champion being left alone, was plied with various arguments by Reuben, a converted Jew ; who, among other means of persuasion, offered him honors and emoluments as the rewards of his embracing the true faith. He complied with these solicitations, and his example was imitated by many of his followers; but others left the island rather than renounce their religion. Such is the narrative of Severus, who adds that various miracles attended this remarkable conversion. Some embellishments, however, may be suspected in the whole story, which merits insertion chiefly as an illustration of the manners and sentiments of the fifth century." *

Making allowances for some occasional outbursts of intolerance, we may subscribe to the statement which M. Depping gives of the condition of the Jews at the extinction of the Western Empire. He says, "The Hebrew nation found itself in a sufficiently advantageous position. Their worship was respected; in every thing which related to religion they enjoyed entire liberty ; they observed their national customs, and had judges of their own community, whose jurisdiction extended to all matters, except those of life and death ; and it appears that even these were often decided by the Jews, with the connivance of the imperial tribunals. They were in general placed on a level with the other subjects of the empire, being excluded only from the highest dignities of the state, and from military service. Besides the profession of the law, they might devote themselves to the pursuits of commerce, industry, and letters ; and, if we may judge from the complaints of the Christian

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xvi.

contemporary writers, they displayed in their employments that ardor which has always characterized them." *

In the meanwhile, they had on various occasions been exposed to suffering in the East, sometimes provoking persecution by their imprudence or fanaticism, at other times the innocent victims of their enemies' hatred. About the beginning of the fifth century they excited the attention of Theodosius the Second, by the manner in which they celebrated the Feast of Purim, in commemoration of their deliverance from the malice of Haman. They were accustomed to erect a gibbet, on which a figure representing their ancient foe was suspended, and treated with every imaginable mark of indignity. Sometimes the gibbet was in the form of a cross, which, with the effigy, was committed to the flames ; and, at the same time, curses were uttered against the name of Christ. Such practices could not fail to irritate believers in the Gospel, and, as disturbances occurred in various places, Theodosius prohibited the festival which was the occasion of them. Subsequently similar tumults broke out in Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyricum, in which the Jews insulted their Christian neighbors ; and the latter retaliated by destroying the houses and synagogues of their adversaries, and even putting some of them to death. The emperor issued orders to the governor of the province to see that strict justice were done, and that all breakers of the law should be adequately punished. A few years later, some drunken Jews, in the town of Inmestar, near Antioch, erected a cross, and fastened a Christian child to it, whom they scourged to death. This horrible crime provoked the inhabitants to flee to arms, and a desperate conflict ensued ; but at length the tumult was quelled by the interposition of the imperial authority, and the summary punishment of the offenders. Some time after, several individuals of Antioch, instigated by their clergy, plundered a synagogue, and impiously dedicated the booty to the service of the church. The Roman governor took

* Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age, Paris, 1834, pp. 17, 18.

the part of the Jews, and by his representations induced the emperor to order the restitution of the property. But the far-famed Simeon Stylites interposed as effectually as Ambrose had done in the case of Callinicum, and screened the offenders from the punishment due to their intolerance. If the great Theodosius yielded to the unjust request of the Archbishop of Milan, some excuse may be found in the undeniable excellence of Ambrose's character, which had procured for him the esteem and reverence of the whole western world; but what palliation can we imagine for the weakness of his grandson in listening to the counsels of a fanatical monk, whose sole claim to respect was derived from his choosing to perch himself upon the top of a column sixty feet high?

About the same time the city of Alexandria was the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the Jews and Christians; the former amounting in number to about forty thousand, and many of them being remarkable for wealth. The more irreligious of the body used to attend the theatre on the Sabbath, instead of repairing to the synagogues; and one day a person, named Hierax, entered to read a proclamation recently issued by the governor of the city against the tumults which frequently occurred. The Hebrews cried out that this individual had come for the purpose of exciting a disturbance; and it is probable that he was well known as a person of turbulent character, for Orestes ordered him to be immediately scourged, without any form of trial. The sufferer was a partisan of Cyril, the archbishop of Alexandria, who regarded his punishment as an insult to himself. Being of a fierce and haughty temper, he resolved to interfere in a matter in which he had no concern, and sent for some of the principal Israelites, whom he threatened with his resentment if they did not cause all tumults against his people to cease. Instead of complying with such demands, they determined to attack their adversaries; and raising a cry at midnight that the great church was on fire, they attacked the Christians as they poured out of their houses unarmed, eager to rescue the sacred edifice from

destruction. The assailants, who had put on rings of palm bark to distinguish one another in the darkness, slew many of them; but at daybreak the archbishop put himself at the head of a large body of the inhabitants, attacked the enemy, killed a number, and expelled the rest from the city. He appropriated their synagogues to the church, and gave up their houses to be plundered by his followers.

It could not be expected that the governor would allow his authority to be thus encroached upon by a turbulent ecclesiastic. He sent a statement of the affair to the emperor, complaining bitterly of the interference of Cyril; but the archbishop sent a counter representation, in which all the blame was thrown upon the Jews. The people pressed him to be reconciled to Orestes, and he made an attempt, but unsuccessfully; upon which he called the monks of Nitria, a fanatical band of savages, to his assistance. Arriving to the number of fifteen hundred, they assaulted the prefect in the street, and loaded him with insults and reproaches, calling him an idolator, who merely made a hypocritical profession of the true faith. He in vain assured them that he had received baptism at Constantinople; for amidst his protestations, one of the rioters, named Ammonius, struck him on the head with a large stone, and covered him with blood. His guards fled on all sides, afraid of being overwhelmed by numbers; and he might have been torn in pieces by the seditious monks, if the inhabitants of Alexandria, ashamed to see their governor in such a situation, had not interposed to rescue him. The fanatics were driven back to their mountains, and Ammonius was executed; but Cyril having caused his body to be taken up, and transported in solemn procession to the cathedral, panegyrized him from the pulpit as a martyr, who had fallen in the service of the church. Through bribery or bigotry, the imperial court took no notice of the seditious conduct of the archbishop; and it does not appear that the members of the synagogue obtained the restoration of their property.*

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xv. Gibbon, chap. xlviii.

About twenty years after these tumults at Alexandria, an impostor, who was named Moses, appeared among the Jews in Crete, and travelling a whole year through the island, persuaded many of the deluded Israelites to follow him as their leader. He led them to the top of a promontory, and ordered them to cast themselves down into the sea, assuring them that the water would become dry land before them, and open up a safe and easy passage to the promised land. A number of them, who were fanatical enough to obey his absurd injunction, were dashed to pieces against the rocks, or drowned in the waves. Many more would have shared the same fate, had not the crews of some fishing boats, which were on the spot, held up the bodies of the dead persons to convince them of the imposture. They were at last persuaded of the knavery, and wished to revenge themselves upon their deceiver, but he had in the meantime made his escape. Not a few of them, won over by the kindness of the Christian seamen, embraced the true faith.

About the same time, the patriachate of Tiberias expired in the person of Gamaliel; who was either deprived by Theodosius* of the honorary title of prefect, given him by former sovereigns; or, as some think, obliged to relinquish even the appellation of patriarch itself. If he retained the latter, he left no successor to whom he might transmit it; and thus the office ended, after a continuance of nearly three centuries.

* The ground of this imperial edict was the connivance of the patriarch at the erection of new synagogues, in opposition to the law of the empire.

CHAPTER X.

Wise Policy of the Ostrogothic Kings of Italy—Persecuting Edicts of Justinian—Dissension between the Rabbis and the People—Simeon of Emesa—The internal Slave-trade of Europe in the hands of the Jews—Conduct of Gregory the Great towards them—Rebellion of Meir against the Persian King, and consequent Persecution of the Babylonian Jews—Embassy of the Jews of Palestine to Nushirwan—Taking of Jerusalem by Chosroes II., and Massacre of the Christian Inhabitants by the Jews—Recovery of the City by Heraclius.—From A. D. 530 to A. D. 610.

On the extinction of the Western Empire, Odoacer, a fortunate general in the service of Rome, assumed the title of King of Italy. After a reign of fourteen years, being defeated by Theodoric, ruler of the Ostrogoths, he was put to death by order of the conqueror, who founded a dynasty of Gothic sovereigns in Italy. He divided a third part of the country among his victorious soldiers, but ever afterwards administered the law with strict impartiality; striving by his wisdom and justice to make his subjects forget that they were ruled by a barbarian. During his reign, Italy enjoyed a peace and prosperity to which it had been a stranger in the declining years of the empire. He was an Arian, but he tolerated the orthodox faith, and the Jews shared the blessings of his wise administration. He told them, indeed, that they seemed far more anxious for temporal prosperity than for eternal happiness; but he judiciously endeavored, by his impartial government, to assist them in acquiring the former; and did not, like many bigoted princes before and since, attempt by persecution to force them to embrace that creed, which he believed to be the only means of obtaining the latter. He repressed the forward zeal of the Christians at Rome, Milan, and Genoa, where the synagogues had been plundered or burnt; and commanded restitution to be made to the sufferers. His prudent maxims

were probably adopted by his successors; for we find that when Belisarius, the general of the Emperor Justinian, invaded Italy, the Jewish merchants of Naples stirred up the inhabitants to make a desperate resistance to the Roman army. The siege lasted twenty days; and the Israelites, who defended the quarter next the sea, fought with distinguished bravery. But a secret passage into the city being pointed out to the imperial commander, a chosen body of his troops made good their entrance at the dead of night. He is said, by some authors, to have given strict orders that the lives of the people should be spared; but other writers affirm that a general massacre took place, without regard to age or sex; and, if these accounts be correct, we may be sure that especial cruelty would be shown towards the Jews, as the authors of that resistance which had detained the invaders so long under the walls. Though Belisarius was recalled before he had completed the conquest of Italy, he obtained an able successor in Narses, who destroyed the Ostrogothic kingdom in 553, twenty-seven years after the death of Theodoric, its founder.

The Neapolitan Jews had too good reason to make a fierce resistance to the Roman arms, for the condition of their brethren in the Eastern Empire had become very unfavorable. Justin the elder issued a decree which prohibited all unbelievers, whether Heathen, Jews, or Samaritans, from exercising the functions of the magistracy; alleging as a reason, that it was indecorous to allow such persons to pass sentence upon Christians, lay or clerical. The Samaritans had in some measure provoked this severity by more than one instance of sedition, of which the inhabitants of their chief city, Sichem, had been guilty; but neither the Heathens nor the Jews appear to have in any respect forfeited the character of loyal and peaceable subjects. The edict of Justin was far surpassed in severity, by the various ordinances issued by his nephew. Justinian, who had paid considerable attention to the study of theology, was desirous to bring the whole empire into conformity with his religious opinions. "He was, in effect, the pope as well as the em-

peror of the Roman world." * But unhappily the means which he adopted to secure the prevalence of orthodox opinions, were often of the most questionable kind. He endeavored to coerce his subjects into the true faith; he hunted out those who still, with more or less secresy, adhered to Paganism, forcing them to receive baptism; and seventy thousand are said to have been thus obliged to profess Christianity in Asia Minor. He constrained the heretics to embrace orthodoxy, or leave the imperial dominions; and an obstinate congregation of Montanists were burnt in their conventicle, whither they had retired for protection. But the most refined and systematic persecution was directed against the Jews and Samaritans. The latter people were goaded by the oppression they sustained into a desperate rebellion, in which they were headed by an individual, named Julian, who appears to have been a false Messiah. They ravaged the country with fire and sword, destroyed the churches, and murdered or shamefully insulted the clergy. A regular force being sent against them, they were routed in a well-contested engagement, their leader slain, and themselves massacred or sold as slaves. A hundred thousand persons are said to have perished in this revolt; and such of them as survived and escaped slavery, chose to make a profession of the Gospel, rather than have their property confiscated. They still, however, continued in secret to practice their ancient faith; but this dissimulation transpiring, was forbidden by a proclamation of Justin the younger, who had now ascended the throne.

As the Jews are the more immediate subjects of this history, the enactments of Justinian with respect to them require a more explicit mention. He sent orders to the governor of Africa to prohibit the performance of their worship, and to apply the synagogues to the service of the church. The most remarkable consequence of this edict was the conversion of the Jews at Borium, a strong city on the frontiers of the Pentapolis, where there was a splendid

* Milner's History of the Church, cent. vi. chap. iii.

temple or synagogue, said to have been built in King Solomon's time. This ancient edifice was now converted into a church.

The ordinance just mentioned appears to have related only to Africa; but in other parts of the empire the Israelites were subjected to many oppressive enactments. They were forbidden to celebrate the Passover on any other day than that on which the Christians observed Easter. It appears that the calculations of the two religious communities differed, and consequently their festivals were seldom held in the same week. They were also forbidden, under severe penalties, to eat the paschal lamb; but this was a piece of ignorant malice, for the custom had been generally abandoned since the destruction of Jerusalem. There were other decrees more arbitrary than even these. Justinian forbad the admission of their evidence in lawsuits between Christians and Jews, or between Christians themselves; their testimony was only received when both plaintiff and defendant were Israelites. He further enacted, that when the parents differed in creed, the chief authority should remain with the one who professed the true faith; so that, if the mother was a believer, she was intrusted with the education of the children. They were prohibited from disinheriting, or refusing maintenance to those of their offspring who should embrace the Gospel; and were even obliged to portion their daughters according to the good pleasure of the prefect or the bishop, who were thus selected as guardians to the proselytes. The children were to be entitled to whatever portion of the inheritance would have been awarded to them if their parents had died intestate, and all wills which obstructed this enactment were abrogated. Even gross acts of filial delinquency did not preclude the pecuniary benefits of conversion; for, though the young persons might be punished for their disobedience, they were still entitled to a fourth part of the property.*

In the same reign, a dispute arose between the rabbis

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xxi. Depping, pp. 19, 20.

and a considerable portion of their followers. The former wished to retain the Hebrew language in the reading of the Law, as well as the expositions made in the synagogue. The latter, who had been gradually losing their knowledge of the original language of the Old Testament, desired that Greek translations might be used in their places of worship. The rabbis endeavored, by argument and menace, to prevail on the refractory people to desist from their demands, but in vain ; and at length the matter came before the emperor by appeal. He decreed, that those who preferred a Greek version should be indulged in their wishes ; and recommended that the Septuagint translation should be adopted, though he did not interdict the reading of any other. He strictly prohibited the use of the Mishna in public worship, characterizing it as a worthless incentive to superstition. He further forbade the teachers, on the pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of property, to throw any obstacles in the way of those who preferred the Greek to the Hebrew tongue He concluded his edict by enjoining the careful reading of the Scriptures, as a means of improvement in moral and religious knowledge.

Justinian doubtless expected that his decrees would have the effect of converting many to the Christian faith ; but their oppressive nature, and the insulting language in which they were couched, unquestionably tended to irritate the feelings of those against whom they were directed, and prevented them from thinking well of a religion whose professors thus exhibited themselves in the light of persecutors. The superstitious habits of the age induced men to receive with implicit belief the tales of prodigies, which were wrought for the conversion of the Jews, and are said to have powerfully co-operated with the imperial edicts. Absurd as these stories are, we may insert one as characteristic of the feelings of the times. There was a person named Simeon at Emesa, who was regarded as a saint, although he exhibited very decided marks of insanity. His favorite employment was running up and down the streets, lashing the pillars, saying, "this is for dancing," because

there had lately been an earthquake in that part of the country. This eccentric personage one day watched a Jewish glass-blower working at the furnace. The man attempted to make a glass, but the material formed itself into the shape of a cross, which instantly broke in pieces. Seven times he repeated the experiment, and seven times he made crosses as brittle as before. Simeon told him that he never would succeed in the attempt until he had made the sign of the cross.* The Jew, afraid that he would starve unless he complied with the injunction, made the required sign, and immediately recovered his former skill in his art. He continued in the profession of a religion so powerfully recommended to him !

Yet it would be unjust to suppose that more legitimate means of conversion were not used towards the Jews. Even amidst the gross superstition which was gradually overspreading Christendom, there were still many noble examples of genuine piety and zeal; and it cannot be doubted that, wherever these existed, there would be an earnest desire to bring over God's ancient people to the true faith, by the appointed means of preaching and prayer. The doctrine, no doubt, had by this time become debased by superstitious additions, and the practice had been still more alarmingly perverted; but the grosser delusions of popery were yet unknown, and formality was not in the sixth century by any means universally substituted for heartfelt devotion. Among the bishops of the smaller sees, the inferior clergy, and the middle and lower classes of the laity, there unquestionably still remained many persons who held fast the essential truths of the Gospel, and evinced their right appreciation of them by lives of consistent godliness; thus, so far as in them lay, counteracting the evil effects too likely to flow from the secularity of the more wealthy ecclesiastics, and the irreligion of the nobles. We may surely hope, that as, even in the darkest ages of the Church, the Lord Jesus still had his humble and holy followers, so their

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xxi. p. 577.

pious precepts and corresponding lives may have been from time to time blessed as the means of converting to the true faith some of the despised outcasts of Israel.

Among the few truly devout men who, during this period, filled the great sees of the empire, none was in every respect so remarkable as Gregory of Rome, the first and best of his name. Gibbon, no friend to religion or its ministers, is compelled to confess, that this bishop, from the wisdom and equity of his rule, "might justly be styled the father of his country." The protection which he showed to others he wished to extend to the Israelites, whom too many, who "professed and called themselves Christians," deemed it meritorious to persecute by every means in their power. As an instance of his desire to act impartially between Jews and believers, we may mention the following incident. A newly converted Hebrew, who seems to have embraced more of the form than the substance of evangelical truth, put himself at the head of a band of zealots, and on Easter-day forced his way into the synagogue, where he set up a cross and an image of the Virgin Mary. The magistrates of the town condemned this violence, and the bishop, to whom the youth applied for countenance, refused to grant it. Gregory commended the just discernment of the prelate, and enjoined him to rebuke the officious convert without paying any regard to the excuse of zeal which he might offer. He likewise ordered that the cross and image should be removed, and the Jews left to the peaceful exercise of their own worship.

At this time the internal slave-trade of Europe—a horrid traffic which had been much increased by the interruptions of the barbarians—was chiefly in the hands of the Jews. We may easily conceive that this merchandise would prove a source of savage satisfaction to their revengeful spirits, as giving them in some measure a triumph over those who had so often insulted and oppressed them. The vicissitudes of the times might throw into their hands the nearest relatives of the proud prelate or haughty noble, who had in former days of prosperity regarded them with looks of scorn, or

assailed them with words of bitter reproach. He would feel a malicious pleasure in returning gibe for gibe, or repaying blow for blow ; as in reminding his wretched victims that, if he treated them well, it was from no good will or reverence for their creed, but solely that they might bring a higher price at the slave-market. It may be as readily believed, that the Church would look with abhorrence on this commerce, which so often threw its members into the power of the unbelievers. Council after council exclaimed against it, or endeavored to mitigate the harshness of the treatment which its unfortunate victims received from their masters ; who sometimes refused fair prices in order to retain them in bondage, and at other times attempted, by various means, to induce them to renounce the faith of Christ. Gregory exerted all his influence to suppress the trade, and to protect Christian slaves against their proprietors. To effect the former purpose, he wrote to Thierry and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, and to Queen Brunehart, impressing upon them the necessity of putting down a system which gave such scandal to the Church. To accomplish the latter design, he recommended the application of certain funds to the purpose of redeeming such slaves as wished to embrace the Gospel ; and, considering the serfs of Jewish agriculturalists as bound to the soil, he ordained that those masters, who abused their right by seeking to transport them to another part of the country, should forfeit all property in the unfortunate individuals thus oppressed. Learning that the Samaritan merchants at Catana in Sicily were accustomed to purchase heathen slaves for the purpose of bringing them up in their religion, he wrote to Leo, the bishop of that city, to investigate this affair with the utmost strictness ; and, if he should find that the circumstances of the case were such as they were reported, to take the unhappy victims under the protection of the Church, without giving the masters any compensation. The laws of the empire inflicted the punishment of death and confiscation of goods upon masters who circumcised their bondmen ; and Gregory instructed the Bishop of Catana to enforce the execution of

this severe enactment. It is impossible to justify the cruelty of this law, or the attempt to carry it into effect; but some excuse may be found for the distinguished prelate in the imperfect views of toleration to which even the wisest and best men of that age had attained. He sought to gain the Jews into the Church by milder, though perhaps equally questionable methods. In one of his letters to his receiver of taxes in Sicily, he ordered him to remit a third or a fourth of the regular imposts to those of that religion who should embrace the true faith. He acknowledged that persons who should be induced to renounce their religion by such means might not prove very good Christians; but he added that, even if they did not, their sons at least would be properly brought up, and thus the one or the other would be gained. It is strange that the good bishop did not see, that if the fathers proved venal hypocrites, their children were not likely to imbibe favorable sentiments of a religion which they saw professed but not believed. Indeed, the whole transaction too closely resembles the subsequent proceedings of that apostate Church, which is disposed to claim Gregory as one of her brightest ornaments; and which has never scrupled to swell the numbers of her proselytes by the use of the most deceitful as well as the most sanguinary means.*

But if the Bishop of Rome on this occasion forgot that the Gospel condemned all doing of evil that good might come, he showed himself at other times well aware of the only kind of attempts at conversion on which it can be expected that the blessing of God will rest. Peter, bishop of Tarragona, had countenanced the zealots of his diocese in their annoyance of the Jews, who had been driven from their synagogue while celebrating one of their festivals. Gregory wrote to him, strongly condemning this conduct; and reminding him, that the preaching of the Gospel was the true method to bring the deluded Israelites to a sense of

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xxi. pp. 579, 580. Depping, p. 21—24. Beugnot. Les Juifs d'Occident. 1824, prem. part, pp. 148, 149.

the error of their ways. In the same spirit he addressed a letter to the Bishop of Marseilles, of which the following is an extract: — "If a Jew is brought to the baptismal font by compulsion, not by the sweetness of the word, returning to his former superstition, he dies in a worse state than that from which he seemed to be converted. Preach frequently to the Jews, that they may desire to be changed through the love of what they hear. Thus your desire of saving souls will be accomplished, and the convert will not return like the dog to his vomit. Preach, that their dark minds may be enlightened, and that under God they may be brought to real regeneration."* It is to be hoped that this sound advice was not thrown away, and that the Holy Spirit vouchsafed a blessing on the preaching of the word to many of the unhappy descendants of Abraham.

In the mean time, the Jews in the Persian dominions had been subjected to more than one persecution. Nor did external oppression secure internal unanimity; for a feud broke out between Huna, the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, and Chanina, the chief master of the schools, being their temporal and spiritual heads. The former, who had married a daughter of the latter, attempted to encroach upon the privileges of his father-in-law, by interpreting the Talmud in his presence. The other resisted this intrusion into the rabbinical office; upon which his unnatural relative ordered his servants to pluck out his beard, and then cast him forth. All the inhabitants of the city being forbidden to supply him with food or shelter, the unhappy rabbi sat down and wept bitterly. But his misfortunes were not unavenged, for a pestilence broke out in the prince's family, and destroyed every member of it. The royal line would have been extinguished, had not Chanina's daughter, the widow of the prince, been with child. A vision which appeared to the rabbi, terrified him at the thought of the desolation which he had brought upon the house of David, and disposed him to watch with the utmost anxiety until his

* Milner's History of the Church, cent. vi. chap. v.

daughter was safely delivered of a son. He took the utmost care of the education of the infant, whom he named Zutra. Meanwhile, a person called Paphra, bought the dignity of prince, and enjoyed it till the rightful heir had reached his sixteenth year; when the latter applied to Kobad or Cabades, the ruler of Persia, for the possession of a dignity which was his by birth. The king complied with his request, and degraded Paphra; who is said to have soon after died from the effects of a violent fit of sneezing, brought on by a fly entering his nose, and universally regarded as a punishment for his simoniacal usurpation of an office to which he had no title. Zutra, after reigning twenty years, was involved in the calamities which an impostor, named Meir, brought upon the community of Babylonian Jews. This enthusiast, pretending that he had seen the pillar of fire which had appeared by night to the Israelites in the wilderness, conceived that the re-appearance of this mark of divine favor authorized him to go forth as a leader of the chosen people. Having collected a band of four hundred men, he rebelled against the Persian monarch; but that prince having put down the insurgents, slew their leader, and hanged both Zutra and his grandfather Chanina, suspecting them of a secret participation in this fanatical attempt. Many of the Mesopotamian Jews fled from their native land; and it is supposed that some of them even wandered as far as the coast of Malabar, where their descendants exist at this day. The son of the murdered prince, who bore the same name, escaped to Palestine, where he became the president of the Sanhedrim. A ridiculous story is told of Cabades by some monkish historians, who allege that he besieged a castle full of immense riches, but guarded by devils. Having in vain tried all the usual methods of taking this fortress, he summoned before him some votaries of all the various religions which prevailed in his dominions, in order to see whether, by their sacred rites, they could not effect what he had fruitlessly attempted by the resources of the military art. The Magians, the Manichees, the Jews, successively failed in the endeavor to dis-

lodge the demons; but the Christians dispossessed them by using the sign of the cross. The king, it is added, overjoyed at obtaining the valuable spoils, conferred several privileges on the successful communion, and favored their bishop with many marks of his esteem. More authentic history informs us, that Cabades persecuted the Christians as well as the Jews.*

Shortly after the murder of Zutra and Chanina, the Persian monarch died, and was succeeded by his son Chosroes, or Nushirwan During his long reign of forty-eight years, the Jews enjoyed very little prosperity. Their academies were shut by his orders, and a check was thus given to the progress of rabbinical learning. Yet such was the discontent excited among the inhabitants of Palestine by the arbitrary decrees of Justinian, that it is said they sent deputies to the court of Chosroes, who influenced that prince to break off a negotiation with the Romans, and make preparations for a war with the empire. These ambassadors offered to assist the Persian with fifty thousand men, if he would invade the Syrian territory; and excited his avarice by the glowing description which they gave of the immense riches of Jerusalem. On their return they deservedly met the death of traitors. Chosroes was never able to reach the Holy City, for his progress was checked by the military skill of Belisarius, who was recalled from Italy to the defence of the East; and the Jews were thus disappointed in their hopes of being delivered from the galling yoke of Rome. He was succeeded by his son Hormisdas, who was a weak and vicious prince, in every respect the reverse of his father; but he allowed the Hebrews to re-open their academies, and a new order of rabbis, called the Gaonim, or Illustrious, began to flourish. After a disgraceful reign of eleven years, he was dethroned and murdered; and Bahram, or Varanes, a distinguished general, ascended the throne in defiance of the rights of Chosroes, the son of the late king. The Jews espoused the cause of the usurper,

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xviii. pp. 564, 565.

and, in consequence, felt the vengeance of the legitimate sovereign; who, assisted with a Roman army by the emperor Maurice, defeated Bahram, and forced him to flee into Tartary. There was a town called Antioch, built by Chosroes the First, in imitation of the Syrian city of that name; and peopled with its inhabitants, whom the Persian prince had made prisoners during his invasion. This Antioch was taken by Mabodes, the general of Chosroes, and the Jews were massacred or enslaved.

The emperor Maurice, with his whole family, was murdered by Phocas; who, assuming the purple, sent to inform Chosroes of his accession. Whether influenced by ambition, or by real detestation of his crimes, the Persian sovereign refused his alliance, and attacked the Roman territories, alleging that he sought to avenge the death of Maurice on the usurper. To give the better color to his proceedings, he carried about with him an impostor, who pretended to be a son of the late emperor, affirming that he had found means to elude the vigilance of the assassins. The Jews of Palestine were prepared to welcome the advance of Chosroes, for the persecutions of Phocas had provoked them to a rebellion, which was suppressed in a most sanguinary manner. Accordingly, when a detachment of the Persian army, under the command of Carusia, crossed their border, it was joined by them in great numbers. Some accounts swell their force to twenty-six thousand men. Galilee and the region beyond the Jordan were subdued by the invaders, who next pressed on to the attack of Jerusalem. The city being taken by assault, was given up to plunder; and the churches, which were very rich, containing, as was said, "the devout offerings of three hundred years, were rifled in one sacrilegious day." The Jews had now an opportunity of visiting that Holy City, which for so long a time they were unable to enter except by stealth, and at the hazard of their lives. While their allies were engaged in plunder, they were employed in butchering the Christian inhabitants, whom they regarded as unhallowed intruders into a place once consecrated by the especial presence of Jehovah. It

is affirmed that no fewer than ninety thousand were massacred on this occasion. Perhaps in the intoxication of triumph, the Jews might imagine that they would enjoy a long season of prosperity under the sway of the Persian king, and even dream that the temple, which they had unsuccessfully attempted to build in the time of Julian, would be reared in its ancient glory under the happier auspices of Chosroes. If such visionary hopes were in any degree entertained, they were speedily disappointed. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, no doubt, successively fell into the hands of the conqueror, who, for a short period, possessed an empire as extensive as had ever been subject to any of his predecessors. He even advanced to the Thracian Bosphorus, and encamped in sight of Constantinople; when Heraclius, who had slain and succeeded the tyrant Phocas, humbly sued for peace. The haughty victor replied, that he would never grant his request till he abjured his crucified God, and consented to adore the sun. Finding it, however, impossible to reduce Constantinople, he at last agreed to conclude a treaty with the emperor, exacting a tribute of the most oppressive kind. The latter had hitherto displayed a character remarkable chiefly for voluptuousness; but the danger and disgrace to which the progress of the Persian arms had exposed him, roused him from his lethargy, and he broke through the dishonorable treaty which his distress had extorted from him. Chosroes had impiously defied the Majesty of Heaven; and He, who had miraculously destroyed the host of Sennacherib, now providentially interposed to arrest the progress of one whom success had rendered as arrogant as the Assyrian monarch. By the military skill of Heraclius, and the disciplined valor of his troops, the lost provinces were recovered; and the Christian inhabitants, whom the invader had persecuted, gladly returned under the sway of a sovereign of their own religion. The war was even carried into the heart of Persia; and as Chosroes obstinately refused to listen to offers of peace, he was murdered by one of his sons, who ascended the throne, and immediately entered into a treaty with the Romans.

The emperor returned in triumph to Constantinople; and in the course of the following year made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he rebuilt the Christian churches, and restored them to their former splendor. The sanguinary fanaticism of the Jews might have excused a more severe punishment than that which Heraclius inflicted, who, re-enacting the edict of Adrian, again excluded them from that much-loved city which they had revisited for so short a period.

CHAPTER XI.

Jewish Kingdom in Arabia Felix—Wars of Mohammed against the Jewish Tribes—Subjugation of Palestine, and Conquest of Jerusalem by Omar—Downfall of the Persian Kingdom—Severe Persecutions of the Jews in Spain—Isidore of Seville—Various Councils of Toledo—Treatment of the Jews in France—Avitus of Clermont—Chilperic and Priscus.—From A. D. 610 to A. D. 710.

While the Romans and Persians were thus contending for the mastery of the world, that people, whom they both perhaps equally despised, if they did not always equally oppress, maintained possession of an obscure but fertile region, remote from the scene of conflict. It is not, indeed, very distinctly known from what quarter those Jews came who settled in Arabia Felix. How they may have arrived there, whether by extremely tedious journeys through the extensive deserts—the grave of many armies and caravans—or from Persia, through the gulf by water; or from Egypt, across Abyssinia; or through the Red Sea, is an enigma, the entire solution of which would set in a clearer light the Anti-Christian history of the Asiatic revolutions—the un-

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* Basnage, book vi. chap. xviii. p. 565. Gibbon, chap. xlvi.

dertaking of which, however, would be almost a hopeless task.

The Arabian authors, our guides through this labyrinth, are themselves ignorant of the path and its windings,* and so confess themselves. Former travellers, from other countries, have, although furnished with a superior knowledge of antiquity, either had not opportunity or desire to investigate the more ancient history of the Jews in this region. Nothing is left to us but the pedigree—the favorite object of Oriental Historiography—and from it we must borrow what may be relied upon with a tolerable degree of confidence.

According to a list of the Arabian kings, there are several who professed to follow the Jewish religion—a fact which has never been subjected to a doubt, although not developed at the precise time; since the Arabians themselves do not agree in the number and names of their Anti-Mahometan rulers. When now a novel phenomenon is exhibited here, —Judaism not only extended into so distant a country, but also professed by royalty,—then the astonishment increases. Yet it diminishes as soon as we become acquainted with the structure of their minds, through the medium of which all religions in that country had the same privileges; so that the spectacle of a Jewish king governing part of Arabia, does by no means warrant the conclusion that an important struggle must have preceded and caused the ascendancy of the Jews. Still we shall follow the probable course of things, and then explain the decline of Jewish power in Arabia.

The country of Sheba, where dwelt latterly the Homerites, so called, had been already known to the ancient Israelites since the time of Solomon, who received a visit from the Queen of Sheba, and who, on account of his costly presents, was ever afterwards held in great repute.† It has been, probably, also visited by Jewish merchants, and that

* Pocock. spec. Hist. Arab. nol. adabulphar, p. 62.

† Bochart Geogr. Sact. Lib. ii. c. 24.

from beyond the Red Sea, in order to carry the native products from Sheba to Palestine ; perhaps, also, to Alexandria, and even farther.

In consequence of a great bias of the Orientals to push their pedigree as far as possible, and to trace the connection of the stock, there might easily arise a bond between the *Israelites* and *Shebites*, since the latter derived themselves in part from *Eber*, and might then have been known under the original surname of the ancestor of the Israelites, *Abraham*, which is called *Hebrew*, in the same manner as the Israelites acknowledge their relation to Arabian nations through *Abraham*. The Shebites have also practised circumcision on the eighth day after birth, which custom is most certainly derived from *Abraham*, and has continued up to *Ishmael* and the children of the concubines. Even though circumcision, according to some, was adopted by other people independent of the influence of holy writ, still, it always took place with them at the age of maturity only, and not on the eighth day after birth. The unanimity of this custom between the Shebites and Israelites, as soon as they became acquainted with each other, produced a covenant, because this symbol was the sign of the covenant between God and his people. The religion of the Shebites, which consisted in the worship of the heavenly bodies, would have been no obstacle to an approximation, for the Israelites have, in this respect, never observed their law, and David and Solomon made covenants even with those who were uncircumcised. But the immense distance produced estrangement, until it pleased the queen of Sheba to test the wise king of a people related to one another by an enigma, and to undertake so great a journey, which had also, probably, a political object in view.

Such a connection being taken for granted, promoted at the same time freedom of religion in Arabia ; among the Jews at a later time, especially among the fugitives from Judea ; and more particularly among those Egyptians and Persians who, after the building of the second temple, and those Syrians who, after the time of Alexander, fled contin-

ually to the promised land, and entered into those regions where the desert answers the purpose of a bulwark to protect them from the enemy. Had only a small number of Jews found in this region food and shelter, they might, in the course of time, have drawn after them a greater number; particularly so, because in the reign of the Seleucidæ the attention of the Jews was more generally directed to the preservation of their religion, and especially to the often interrupted ceremony of circumcision, than to the support of a state. They thus gradually migrated to the fertile parts of Arabia, and peopled Arabia Felix, so called, —otherwise named Sheba, Jemen Homorolis—which is, perhaps, to us, a nice distinction, and at this time no longer clear. Notwithstanding their connection with the Shebites, they could not well amalgamate with each other; because the Israelites were already too great zealots in religion, and resembled no longer the ancient Israelites in their fickleness. But the natives hated them because they differed from most of the Arabians in their mode of living. The latter were wanderers, requently changed their location, and often went in pursuit of plunder. The Jews, on the contrary, endeavored, conformably to their ancient custom, to settle themselves down as an agricultural people, in order to obtain a permanent support. For this purpose, they were best contented in the southern part of Arabia, on the sea-coast, opposite Ethiopia, because there were here already small and regular settlements.

We might thus find the principal entrance of the Jews in the time of the Maccabees, because the Jews were very much oppressed on the east, north and west, and saw but one outlet towards the south. We find them subsequently, in the time of Herod, on such friendly terms with the inhabitants of Arabia-Petræ that Antipater the father of Herod, entrusted all his children to their care, in order to pursue the war in Palestine without anxiety; and under Herod there were many Jews who went with Gallus to Arabia* through

* Strabo, Lib. xvi.

the Red Sea. Both of which presupposes an intimate acquaintance.

Be this as it may, according to other historiographers the decoration of the Caaba is brought in connection with the history of the Jews, and the following is narrated as the occasion of it.* King *Asad S. Amru,* who reigned in *Jemen,* ruled also over that part of Arabia called Hedjias by means of a governor. This governor oppressed the Jews to such an extent that they rebelled against him and killed him. As well on account of the governor,who was the king's relation, as also to put down the insurrection, the king undertook, in order to avenge his death,—with the assistance of one hundred thousand men, a march to Hedjias, and particularly to Medina. But he found on particular inquiry that the rebellion had been caused by inhuman oppression; and so far from punishing the rebels, he intimated that had he known all the circumstances he would have killed the governor. Subsequently a family, by the name of *Hudail* incited the king against the very rich Caaba, the treasures of which he might at least carry off; but the Jewish Rabbi (who were at that time the principal owners of the temple) represented to him the sanctity of the place, and the divinity presiding over the temple, in such strong language, that he not only left the treasures untouched, but ordered the heads of the inciters to be taken off. He remained at Mecca one year, and ornamented the Caaba with beautiful tapestry.

This king was murdered by some of his subjects. Two sons preceded him, one after another, *Hassan Tobbai* and *Amru Tobbai,* the first of whom caused all sorts of murder to be committed in revenge of his father's death; but was deprived of life by his brother.†

As their father had professed Judaism, nothing prevents us from considering them *Jews,* since Judaism includes the transfer to posterity. The silence of authors who should

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* Nuweir, by Michael, c. 1.

† Aschmed, b. Juss. et al Jannabi.

have written of a changed religion as it respects royalty, rather confirms the fact.

The 35th king, Abd-al-Alel, son of Dhul-abad, who sprung from a new family, or at least from a collateral line, became again, according to the speech of the Arabians, a follower of the religion of Messiah, under which must be understood the *Jewish religion,* for that of the Christian was termed *Nazarene.*

Thus much is certain, that in the course of the last century Judaism in Arabia has made rapid progress, and was constantly, although not, as it regards royalty, a very prevalent religion, so that there were many entire and independent Jewish-Arabic tribes,who defended themselves, according to the custom of the country, against other unfriendly tribes. The best proof that is given by the long duration of the independence of these tribes in Hedjias and Yemen, where even the domination of Mahometans has not extinguished them, and where they still live in a high degree of Arabian freedom, although they were at first much oppressed.

History informs us that Christianity penetrated thither under different forms, orthodox and heretical, but that the nation at large maintained a steady attachment to Judaism. It does not appear that the Arians in any measure suffered for their heterodox opinions; but the Trinitarians felt the consequences of their connection with the believers on the Upper Nile,* whence they had passed into Arabia Felix. Abyssinia was at this time a powerful kingdom; and one of its princes, Eles-baan or Caled, an enterprising warrior, much celebrated in the legends of his country, invaded the region of Homerites, and after defeating Dunaan the Jewish king, made him his tributary. The vanquished prince resolved to avenge the ignominy of his submission upon his Catholic subjects, although they had no relation, save community of faith, with the Ethiopian conqueror. He massa-

* Christianity had been introduced into this remote region in an orthodox form, under the auspices of Athanasius, who consecrated Frumentius, the first bishop.

cred all whom he could get into his power ; and laid siege to Negra, their principal town, with an army which is said to have amounted to 120,000 men. He summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and after some time they capitulated, on condition of the free exercise of their religion ; but the treacherous prince violated the terms without scruple, as soon as the gates were thrown open to him. He caused the bones of Paulus, the bishop of Negra, to be dug up and burnt ; and put to death a number of clergy and laity, because they would not embrace Judaism. It is probable that such of the Christians as escaped, implored the protection of the king of Abyssinia ; who, invading Arabia in the following spring, deprived Dunaan at once of his kingdom and his life. With him terminated the Jewish Homerite dynasty. Abrahah, the son of a Roman merchant, and a Christian, assuming the royal dignity, made an alliance with the emperor Justinian, and paid him a small tribute ; but his endeavor to found a dynasty was unsuccessful, for after reigning a few years, he was defeated near Mecca by Chosroes the First, and Arabia Felix was reduced into a province of the Persian empire. In this condition it remained till the time of Mohammed.*

When the Arabian impostor had resolved to found a new religion, he sought to attract the Jews and Christians to his standard, by acknowledging the prophetical powers both of Moses and Christ ; but only those renegades, who wished for a plausible pretext to renounce their faith, could for a moment be allured by such means to think favorably of the Koran and its author. It is said that some of the Jews were at first inclined to support the pretensions of Mohammed, and even look upon him as the long-expected Messiah. But a better acquaintance with the doctrines which he taught, convinced them that he was a deceiver, who had no claims to divine authority ; and in the contest which he was obliged to wage in Arabia, for safety or for power, he encountered a fierce opposition from them. He first attacked the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina, and

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xx. p. 573—575.

offered them his usual alternative, of Islamism or war. They replied that they were men of peace, and wished to be left to pursue their usual avocations undisturbed ; but added that not being prepared to abandon their faith, they would, if attacked, defend themselves with the resolution of men fighting for their dearest rights. They fled to a neighboring fortress, where they held out fifteen days, when they were obliged to capitulate. The victor, enraged at meeting with opposition from persons whom he despised as unwarlike, was about to order a general massacre, but was prevailed upon by Abdallah, one of his most powerful followers, to spare the lives of his captives. He, however, after plundering them of their substance, obliged them to retire to the frontiers of Syria. Mohammed next attacked the tribe of Nadhir, who had provoked him by an attempt at assassination ; and their citadel, three miles from Medina, defied his efforts so long and obstinately, that he granted to its garrison the most favorable terms, permitting them to depart with all the honors of war. The bravest and most desperate of his enemies were the Koreish, an Arab tribe, from one of the families of which he was himself sprung. To these the Jews of Nadhir joined their forces, and the confederate army, amounting to ten thousand men, besieged the false prophet in his capital. He prudently declined a general engagement with a host so much superior in numbers to his own ; but his followers signalized themselves in various skirmishes, and after a siege of twenty days, a storm of wind and rain destroyed the tents of his enemies. Being now obliged to retreat, dissension was artfully sown among them by his agents ; and scarcely had they retired, when the indefatigable impostor led his troops against the Jewish tribe of Koraidha, who, after defending themselves in a strong hold twenty-five days, surrendered at discretion. They expected to find mercy from the commander, but he left the decision of their fate to an aged follower, Saad, the son of Maadh ; who chose to pronounce against the men the sentence of death, and to adjudge the women and children to slavery. Mohammed exclaimed that God himself spoke

by the mouth of Saad, and hastened to carry his sanguinary decree into effect. Seven hundred were massacred in the market place of Medina, and this butchery is recorded with savage exultation in the Koran. The victors obtained a rich plunder of sheep and camels; though a supply of arms proved of more service to men whose occupation was warfare. The Jews of Khaibar, a fertile district to the south-east of Medina, were the last to be subdued. They had eight castles, supposed to be impregnable; but the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans triumphed over every obstacle, and, after a more or less gallant resistance, every one of these fortresses was taken. The inhabitants who survived the contest, were allowed, during the life-time of the conqueror, to remain in their native land; but Omar afterwards caused them to be transported to Syria, assigning as a reason the dying command of the prophet, that only the Mussulman creed should be professed in Arabia. The conquests of the latter did not stretch beyond that country; but under his immediate successors his religion was greatly extended by the usual means of fire and sword. Christian writers must acknowledge, with shame and sorrow, that the professors of the true faith had, by their profaneness and indifference, forfeited all claim to the protection of the Almighty, and justly deserved the terrible scourge which now afflicted them. In the very year of Mohammed's death, the troops of Abubekr, his successor and the first caliph, invaded Syria. The forces of the Roman empire were routed in the field, the strongest cities were either taken by assault or surrendered to enemies believed to be invincible, and at length the Saracen host made its way to the walls of Jerusalem. The holy city resisted their efforts four months; and, at the end of that time, the inhabitants obtained honorable terms of capitulation. Omar, who meanwhile had succeeded Abubekr in the caliphate, went in person to ratify the conditions, and receive the submission of a city which is venerated by the Mussulmans in a degree inferior only to Mecca and Medina. He erected a mosque on the spot where Solomon's temple had stood; and although this

profanation of their holiest ground could not but prove a source of deep mortification to the Jews, yet they must have rejoiced at the humiliation of the Christians, who had so long oppressed them. They might now revisit and inhabit the sacred town, on the payment of tribute to the conquerors; and this was far preferable to the galling enactments of several emperors, which rendered it a capital crime for any of them to be seen within the walls. To this people, dispersed through the provinces of the Roman empire, which fell a prey to the Saracens, the change of masters could not be otherwise than joyful; for an easy tribute was substituted for the oppressive decrees, to which they had since the time of Justinian been subjected.*

Nor were their brethren in the Persian dominions likely to mourn over the conquests, which at the same time subverted the Sassanian dynasty, and overthrew the religion of the Magi. After a succession of feeble princes, each of whom occupied the throne only a few months, Yezdegerd the Third, the grandson of Chosroes the Second, became king of Persia. He persecuted the Jews throughout his dominions, took away their synagogues, shut up their academies, and put many of them to death. But his power of oppression was of short duration. Before he had reigned twelve months, the Saracens invaded his kingdom, defeated his armies in various battles, and finally reduced the whole of his territories. Being obliged to skulk in a remote province, he was at length discovered and slain by a detachment of Mussulman troops; and with him ended the race of Sassanian princes, who had ruled that country four hundred years. The Jews were now restored to the privileges of which they had lately been deprived, and had reason to rejoice at their change of masters. Their schools were reopened, and rabbinical learning again lifted up its head. A tradition even asserts, that such was the favor which the caliph Ali showed towards them, that he bestowed a daughtor of the last Persian king on Bostenai, then Prince of the

* Basnage, book vi. chaps. xviii. xix, p. 568—570. Gibbon, chaps. i. ii.

Captivity. This story is, however, contradicted by Arabian history, which informs us that the two daughters of Yezdegerd were married into the family of the Caliphs,—the one espousing Hassan, the son of Ali, and the other becoming the wife of Mohammed, the son of Abubekr. The latter account ought to be preferred, as more consonant to the general policy of conquerors.

The Mohammedan arms continued to advance, and in a few years the whole northern portion of Africa had transferred its allegiance from the Roman emperor to the Saracen chiefs. Amrou, the general of Omar, took Alexandria; and among the various particulars by which, in a letter to his master, he attested the magnitude and wealth of the conquered city, he stated that there were in it forty thousand Jews.*

From Africa the Mohammedans passed into Spain, where the same people were ready to welcome their approach, on account of the cruel treatment to which they had been subjected by the Christian kings. The Visigoths had conquered that country in the fifth century; but their religion was Arian. Recared, towards the close of the sixth age, established the orthodox faith; but unhappily commenced against the Israelites a persecution which recalls to our minds the horrors of the Inquisition. The Spanish sovereigns have, in this respect, too faithfully trodden in the footsteps of their ancestors; and in no country has the religion of the cross been more retarded by the atrocities which have been perpetrated under the color of its insulted name. The Jews at that time were numerous and industrious, employed partly in the cultivation of the soil, and partly in the management of the finances; and it is not improbable that the reputation for wealth, which was so fatal to them in the middle ages, had even thus early in-

* About this time, an anchoret, named Cosmus, is said to have labored much by writing, to convert the Egyptian Jews. He also sent various of his followers to preach to them; but we have no certain account of the success of these pious efforts.

duced their jealous rulers to oppress them. Recared forbade them to possess Christian slaves, and proclaimed freedom to all such. His successor, Sisebut, in other things a moderate prince, went far beyond this; being, it is said, excited to persecution by the emperor Heraclius. Be this as it may, he ordered all his Jewish subjects to renounce their faith, or quit his dominions. According to their own traditions, having assembled in the court of the palace, and obtained an audience of the king, they endeavored to convince him of the iniquity of his decree; and among other arguments they told him that Joshua did not compel the Canaanites to embrace Judaism, but contented himself with requiring them to observe the seven Noahic precepts. In making use of such an argument, they must have reckoned largely upon his majesty's ignorance of Scriptural history. Sisebut remained inflexible; and many of the Jews accordingly, rather than renounce their religion, fled into the neighboring countries. Those who determined to remain, or found it impossible to remove, were treated with the utmost cruelty; they were punished with scourging, imprisonment, and confiscation. To escape from these inflictions, a number made a profession of the Gospel; and, if we may believe a Spanish historian, ninety thousand were baptized. It is probable that many of them soon abandoned a faith presented them in so repulsive a form; for a curious document has been preserved, which contains the solemn promises of a number of relapsed Jews to live in a more Christian manner in future. They declare, "that they will have no further intercourse with the unconverted Jews; that they will relinquish the use of Hebrew customs; that they will not intermarry with their unbelieving brethren; that they will be faithful to the doctrines of the Gospel; that they will do nothing contrary to the Christian faith; and that if any of them violates this agreement, the rest will burn him, stone him, or place his life and property at the disposal of the king."* Suintilla, the son and successor

* This document is by some writers referred to a later period.

of Sisebut, was dethroned by Sisenand, who summoned a council of the clergy at Toledo, in order, by their exhortations, to confirm his subjects in their wavering allegiance. This synod (known by the name of the fourth council of Toledo) had for its president Isidore, archbishop of Seville, a man remarkable for piety and zeal. They complied with the wishes of his majesty, enjoining all his subjects to yield him a cheerful obedience ; and likewise made several enactments with regard to the Jews. Isidore, in his history of the Goths, had denounced the violent proceedings of Sisebut ; and it may have been in a great measure by his influence that the council condemned all attempts at forcible conversion, declaring that men can be truly christianized only by gentle and persuasive methods. Yet the members of the synod did not feel themselves warranted to annul what had been done ; and further proclaimed that the Jews baptized by order of the monarch should be obliged to remain in the Church, alleging as a reason that the holy name of God would be blasphemed, and the true faith villified, if they renounced their baptismal vows. They likewise ordained, that such persons, in order to prevent the danger of a relapse, should be separated from their families, (if these still continued obstinately attached to Judaism,) and constrained to live among Christians. However inconsistent these enactments may appear with their previous condemnation of forcible conversions, the annals of Spanish councils are so full of the most intolerant decrees, that we are glad to find Isidore and his clerical brethren even on one occasion expressing the sentiments inculcated by the Gospel of Peace. Feeble and flickering as their light may seem, it is the only exception to the general darkness.

Suintilla the Second ascended the Spanish throne in 636, and the sixth council of Toledo, summoned in his reign, praised him for his persecuting zeal, and ratified the decree*

* Such a decree, if rigidly obeyed, would have saved the kings and councils all further trouble about the Jews. But the distractions of the kingdom, and the frequent succession of sovereigns, rendered it impossible to carry these laws into effect.

of banishment which he had pronounced against all the Jews in his kingdom. They further enacted, that every sovereign in future should, at his accession, solemnly swear to tolerate in his dominions no other faith besides the Catholic. When Wamba was raised to power in 672, as he owed his elevation in a great measure to the services of the clergy, he willingly took the prescribed oath, and issued an edict that all unconverted Hebrews should leave the realm. A great number of them passed the Alps, and entered Septimania, a southern district of France, subject to the Gothic princes of Spain. In this province they were better received than they could have expected, for as the yoke pressed heavily on all the Septimanians, the common feeling of oppression drew Christians and Jews more closely together. The province at length revolted; and Paul, a Greek by birth, and commander of the Gothic forces, placed himself at the head of the insurgents. He next assumed the title of king; but his royal dignity was of short duration, for Wamba speedily passed the Pyrenees, reduced Nismes, where Paul had fortified himself, and again subjected the inhabitants to his authority. We are not informed of the consequences which this unsuccessful rebellion produced on the condition of the Jews who had formerly settled in Septimania or recently fled thither. The former had previously been treated with more indulgence than their Spanish brethren, perhaps because the Visigothic dominion was less firmly established in the frontier land which they inhabited; but it is not improbable that Wamba, exasperated by the recent revolt, might endeavor to carry into effect the cruel and impolitic decree which he had elsewhere pronounced against the Jews.

It was under the reign of Ervig, the successor of the monarch just named, that the twelfth council of Toledo was held; an assembly which has deservedly become infamous for the severity of its enactments.

It was on the 25th of January, says the Spanish annalist, that the council was convoked, and on the 27th all the Jews of Toledo were summoned to the church of the Holy Mary,

where was read to them the new edict, which we here give in full.

1. The Jews have frustrated, by reason of their craftiness, the force of all decrees heretofore passed against them. A renewal of them, therefore, becomes necessary, especially since a few early ones have the appearance of absurdity; namely, that the Jews are permitted to liberate Christians; and that for each offence was inflicted one and the same punishment; and, in addition to this, the penalty of death, which runs contrary to holy writ.

2. The greatest sin is that committed against the Holy Ghost. He who profanes the name of Christ, the Son of God, refuses to eat his body and drink his blood, or throws up what he has eaten or drank, or casts insinuations against the Trinity, i. e. against the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, shall, upon complaint of the priest or judge in the city, town or village where the offence has been committed, be scourged with a hundred lashes upon the bare body, and then be bound and banished from society, and his property shall belong to the reigning prince, or to any person to whom the prince shall please to give it.

3. The same punishment shall be suffered by every Jew, whether baptized or not, if he withholds, within the space of one year from the present time, his children, or his servants, or himself and those that belong to him, from baptism.

4. He who celebrates the passover conformably to Jewish custom, shall suffer the same penalty. He who practises circumcision on Jews or Christians, or permits it to be practised on himself, his entire private parts shall be cut out, and his property confiscated. Women who practice circumcision on children, or occasion it, shall suffer the loss of their noses and property. The same shall happen to him who converts a Christian to Judaism.

5. He who celebrates the new moon, the feast of the tabernacles, the Sabbath, the days of rest, or other feasts, conformably to Jewish custom, shall be scourged with a hundred lashes, and then banished. His property shall fall

to the reigning prince, and, in case of his conversion, be returned to him; or, if he remain stubborn, shall be given away.

6. The like punishment shall every Jew and Jewess suffer, who goes out to work in the field on the Lord's day; or manufactures woollen stuffs, or who does other work in the field, house or other places; it being not permitted according to Christian usage The punishment is the same also for domestics, if they are found working on the Lord's day. Their masters shall pay only one hundred solid pieces (soliden) into the treasury. The following are the feasts which are included in the above decree:—The feast of the reception; of Mary; the birth of Christ; the circumcision, and the transfiguration; the day of crucifixion, ascension and pentecost.

7. He who in future makes a distinction between clean and unclean food, and eats this and rejects that, shall be scourged in the same manner. The same is to be observed in drinking. He who refuses to drink with Christians shall be punished as above mentioned. In regard to food, however, we order that those who otherwise conduct themselves in a Christian manner, but do not like to eat pork because it inspires them with disgust, and is against their nature, shall be exempt from punishment. It would be contrary to reason to make men answerable because they reject one kind of food, if they are otherwise ennobled by Christian deeds.

8. The same punishment shall be inflicted on those who connect themselves in marriage or by sexual intercourse, being related to each other in the sixth degree. They shall forthwith be separated, and their property be granted to their children, when such children are legitimate and not Jews. But if they have no children, or are educated as Jews, or are bastards, then their property shall fall to the reigning prince, who may grant it to their Christian heirs or retain it in the treasury. He who violates this law shall either pay one hundred pieces (soliden) into the treasury, or receive publicly one hundred lashes. This punishment shall fall upon every abettor in such marriage, the husband, wife, and, under some circumstances, upon the parents.

9. Every subject who conceals a Jew, or assists his flight abroad, or suffers him to go, or conceals the fact, shall be scourged in like manner, and forfeit his property.

10. He who accepts presents from Jews in order to conceal their religious acts, contrary to the church; and instead of disclosing such acts or giving them up to be punished, favors or protects them against punishment, shall be subject to church penance, and pay into the treasury double the amount of the received gifts.

11. No Jew is permitted to read any books written against the Christian religion, or keep them in his house, or use them for purposes of contemplation. He who endeavors to recover those books which have been taken away from him, and read them, shall be scourged with a hundred lashes, since this act is looked upon as a repetition of the offence. The same is the case with those who instruct their children otherwise; and those who are engaged in teaching them shall receive for the first offence one hundred lashes, and promise in writing that they will in future teach nothing similar. For the second offence he shall receive one hundred lashes, suffer confiscation of his property and banishment.

12. Christian slaves shall not be placed in the care of Jews; and this is the same with the decree of Sisibus, with the exception of capital punishment It is also forbidden to the Jews to liberate a Christian. This is, however, according to the new law, superfluous, since they are not permitted to own Christian slaves, and is now mentioned only for the benefit of former offenders. Yet we will give them time to sell all Christian slaves within sixty days from next February; and that, too, with the previous knowledge of the priest or judge, at the place where the priest or judge resides; otherwise the slaves will be punished with death, and the sellers of slaves in proportion. Thus, after the lapse of sixty days from the above-mentioned day, the Jews are forbidden to own slaves; and the slaves who are unsold after that time shall receive of their master a peculium, and be liberated, as soon as they can prove that they were

forcibly concealed by their master. The Jew who conceals his slave, shall pay one half of his property into the treasury; or, if he belong to the lower class, shall receive one hundred lashes.

13. As it is anticipated that many a Jew will pretend to be a Christian in order to retain his slaves, it is ordered, that all the Jews in the kingdom, from the first of February until the first of April, may either sell their slaves or publicly acknowledge themselves Christians. Within the specified time, those who are to be baptized may go to the place where their bishop resides, and hand him a confession of faith, subscribed by them; which confession must specially show, that the convert has renounced all Jewish customs, and will in no wise follow that sect. A form of the confession is subjoined. He who makes it must confirm it with his oath. These then may own Christian slaves, as soon as they show that they are good Christians. But those who do not make their confession of faith within the above specified time, will be treated according to the above-mentioned law. Slaves who have been retained by force and do not report themselves, shall be disposed of as the sovereign prince thinks fit.

14. The declaration of faith is as follows: — "I, the undersigned, renounce all usages and customs of the Jewish sect; and abhor them all, particularly the festivals and practices which I have formerly observed; and in future I will conform to none of the usages or festivals of the Jews; and will not practise any of my former errors. While I renounce every thing offensive to Christian doctrines, and that is forbidden by them, I acknowledge that

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of

the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us, under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, and on the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and he shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

"And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son together, is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets. And I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic church. I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Believing in the foregoing truly, preserving it faithfully, embracing it with my whole heart, I promise never to return to the dregs of Jewish superstition. I will never observe the usages and customs of the Jews, nor desire to observe them. I will renounce Judaism wholly; reject every thing that is offensive to the Christian faith; and I promise to believe in future in the Holy Trinity, and to live always as befits a Christian, avoiding all intercourse with Jews; always to connect myself with pious Christians; to eat food in and out of the presence of Christians; and that I will attend the church like a faithful and devout Christian.

"I promise devoutly to observe the feast of the Lord, as also the feasts of Martyrs, which Christian piety commands to be celebrated; to keep all festivals; to cherish them with supreme love; to attend them in the company of the most sober Christians, according to their custom. This confession of my faith and my belief is concluded on the —— day and —— year of the king," &c.

15. The oath of the Jews is as follows: — "I swear first by God Almighty, the Father, who spake: By myself shall ye swear, and not swear falsely; by the name of the Lord your God, who made heaven and earth and the sea and all things therein; who fixed a bound to the sea when he spake: Hitherto shalt thou come, and here may thy swelling

waves be broken ; who has said, Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool ; who first expelled the insolent archangel from heaven ; before whose countenance all the host of angels stand in awe ; who drieth up the deep, and whose anger melteth mountains ; who placed Adam in Paradise and commanded him not to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, in consequence of a violation of which he drove him from Paradise, and sin was entailed upon the human race. Who accepted Abel's sacrifice with favor, and who justly punished unworthy Cain. Who preserved Enoch and Elias in Paradise. Whom it pleased to preserve in the ark, Noah, with his wife, his three sons and their wives ; the beasts, winged fowls and worms, at the time of the flood, in order that through him every species might be perpetuated. Who caused Abraham and all the Israelites to be born of Shem, the son of Noah. Who chose the patriarchs and prophets, and blessed the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. By him, who promised and spake to the holy Abraham : In thy name shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, while he gave him the sign of circumcision as a token of an everlasting covenant. I swear by him who destroyed Sodom, and changed the wife of Lot, who looked back, into a pillar of salt ; and by him who wrestled with Jacob, touching his thigh, lamed him, and then spake : Thou shalt no more be called Jacob, but Israel. I swear also by him, who delivered Joseph from the hands of his brethren, gave him grace in the eyes of Pharaoh, so that through him Israel might be saved from famine. I swear also by him who saved Moses from a watery grave, and appeared to him in the burning bush. Who, by the hand of Moses, sent ten plagues upon the Egyptians, and delivered his people from the bondage of the Egyptians, and caused them to go through the Red Sea upon dry land. I swear by him who drowned Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea.

" I swear by him who went before the people of Israel in a pillar of clouds by day, and in a pillar of fire by night. I swear by him who, in the presence of the people of Israel, caused Mount Sinai to smoke. I swear by him who chose

Aaron as his high priest; who destroyed his sons in the tabernacle by fire, because they had presumed to offer strange fire before the Lord. I swear by him who caused Dathan and Abiram to be swallowed up alive by the earth. I swear by him who turned bitter waters, by means of wood, into sweet waters. I swear by him who fed the Israelites forty years in the wilderness, and preserved their garments so that they were neither torn or worn out. I swear by him who commanded that none of the sons of Israel should come into the promised land, because they had not believed in the word of the Lord, except Joshua, the son of Nave, (Nun,) and Caleph, who were to enter there. I swear by him who commanded Moses to procure victory for the Israelites by raising his hand against the Amalekites. I swear by him who caused our fathers (by the hand of Joshua the son of Nave,) to go over the river Jordan, and commanded them to erect twelve stones, taken from that river, as a memorial. I swear by him who commanded the Israelites, after passing the river Jordan, to circumcise themselves with knives of stone; and by him who destroyed the walls of Jericho. I swear by him who divided the glory of dominion with David, and delivered him from the hand of Saul and his son Absalom. I swear by him who, in consequence of the prayer of Solomon, filled the temple with darkness and poured out his blessing. I swear by him who raised the prophet Elias in a fiery chariot, through a whirlwind from the earth, and conducted him to the heavenly mansions; and by him who, in consequence of Elias's prayer, divided the river Jordan by means of a blow from Elias's mantle. I swear by him who inspires all his prophets with the Holy Ghost, and who delivered Daniel from the roaring lion. I swear by him who preserved the three children in the fiery furnace from harm in the presence of the king; who holds the key of David, and shuts so that none can open, and opens so that none can shut. I swear by him who caused all the miracles and powers and signs among the Israelites and other nations. I swear also by the holy ten commandments, in the decalogue. I swear also by

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father, and by the Holy Ghost, who, in the Trinity, is the only and true God; by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his ascension, and his glorious and awful return, when he will judge both the quick and the dead; by his adorable love and his precious blood; who opened the eyes of the blind, unstopped the ears of the deaf, caused the lame to walk again, loosed the tongues of the dead, healed the lepers, raised the dead, restored Lazarus to life, and turned mourning into joy; who who is the cause of time, light and salvation; who has illumed the world ever since its existence; who redeemed the world by his suffering; whom death could not overcome; who narrowed the circumference of hell, and who rescued the souls of the good from the jaws of hell. I swear also by all the powers of heaven; by the rest of all the saints and apostles; also by the four evangelists, (which, together with the former conditions, lie upon the altar of the Holy of Holies, which I hold or touch with my hands,)

"That I have caused every thing to be put in my confession of faith which could be embraced in it, and which I have handed to thee, my Lord and Bishop, subscribed with my own hand; that I have said every thing contained in it with full consciousness, and have given the contents of my confession without evasion or reservation. On the contrary, I have renounced, conformably with its contents, in all candor, all usages and customs of the Jews, and will now believe with my whole soul in the Trinity, never return to the dregs of my former errors, or go in company with Jews, but conduct myself always as becomes a Christian; cherish only Christian intercourse; preserve with purity what is contained in the confession written by me, touching the exercise of holy faith, according to apostolic tradition and the precepts of the holy symbols. Should I ever commit a fault, soil our holy religion, or conform to the sect of the Jews; or under cover of an oath deceive or not perform what I have promised, as you hear and understand by my confession; then may all the curses of the law descend upon me which are spoken by the mouth

of the Lord against the traitors to divine commands! May there descend upon me, and my house, and my children, all the plagues of the Egyptians; and, in order to terrify all others, may the judgments of Dathan and Abiram come upon me, so that the earth swallow me alive! Thus may I, after the close of this mortal existence, be delivered to everlasting torments, and burn as a culprit in company with the inhabitants of Sodom and Judea! And when I shall have arrived at the judgment seat of the awful judge of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ, may I be numbered with those to whom the judge shall say, Depart, ye abandoned ones, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels! Done on, &c."

16. A slave of a Jew, having already become a Christian, and being persuaded to deny Christianity, shall henceforth abide in slavery in some other place. The informer shall, if he is a Jewish slave, be set at liberty, provided he adopt the Christian religion. If he be a Christian he shall receive of the master complained of, for every slave informed against, five solids (soliden.)

17. No Jew shall have an office, or any authority by which he may lead, command, confine or detain a Christian, excepting when the sovereign or the public benefit shall require it. Should a Jew exercise such authority in any place, and introduce any thing contrary to the decrees, half of his property shall be confiscated; or, if he have no property, he shall receive one hundred lashes. The person conferring such authority shall, if he be a nobleman, pay into the treasury ten pounds in gold; if he belongs to the lower class, five pounds in gold. In case of inability one hundred ashes will be received.

18. Since every means, even if it be only selfishness, must be employed to spread the worship of Christ, every Jewish slave belonging to any Jew, who has hitherto lived in their religion, but is desirous of becoming a Christian, shall with a peculium, be liberated immediately, and what has been said of Christian slaves applies to him.

19. Jews shall not be employed as stewards, agents or

overseeers. When a Jew accepts from a layman a place as overseer over Christian domestics, then the whole property entrusted to him, shall fall into the treasury, and the overseer shall be punished with one hundred lashes and with the loss of one half of his property. Should it happen that a bishop or a priest or clergyman entrust a Jew with matters pertaining to the church, then the entire property so entrusted shall be confiscated; or if he have nothing, the offender shall be burned, in order that he may learn from the severe punishment what great wickedness it is to prefer an unbeliever to a Christian.

20. When a Jew from another city or province of our kingdom travels to some place, he shall go immediately to the bishop, priest or judge of the place, and he is forbidden to leave it until a Lord's day or other festival, that may succeed it, has elapsed, and until he has received a priest's certificate of his good behavior, in order that no one may find a hiding place for his error under the pretence of travelling. On those days when they are permitted to go whereever they please, they must constantly associate with true Christians, eat with them, partake of the communion with them. They shall go to Church on their own former festivals, or meet with the priest who will instruct them. But should they insist that by their documents, they are not obliged to do so, or are prevented by unavoidable necessity, then the priest shall give them a permit, but on the condition that they promise in writing at what places they will spend the coming ancient sabbaths and festivals with the bishop? upon which promise he shall then furnish them with certificates. This priest shall send immediately letters subscribed by their own proper hands, to those priests with whom they intend to tarry, in order that they may practise no deception. As soon as any one acts differently, the bishop of the place, in common with the local judge, shall punish the offender with one hundred lashes. We do not suffer the Jews to return to their possessions unless they exhibit all the letters of the bishops through the places they have travelled. In these letters every thing must be minutely observed, the day

of arrival at the bishops, the days of tarrying there, and the day of departure.

21. The Jews, in the whole kingdom, on all their sabbaths and festivals, shall always assemble at the local bishops. No one shall leave the jurisdiction of the bishop during these suspected days, without his consent. In those places where a bishop or clergyman resides, they shall assemble themselves on the sabbath at the bishop's or clergyman's; where there is no bishop or clergyman, then they shall meet at the judge's or other acknowledged Christians. The wives and daughters of Jews shall also be cared for. The priests shall select women for this purpose, at whose houses they shall tarry during the festivals. Let no priest presume to select a particular place in order to satisfy his lusts; nor let him presume to be on too intimate terms with the Jewesses under the pretence of Christian zeal. Should a priest abuse his trust, by gratifying his lusts under a pretence as mentioned before, he shall be dismissed and forever banished.

22. When a layman who owns a Jew, man or woman, or has them under his care, and defends them with his own hands against the priest, and does not permit them to be instructed on days of festivals, he shall lose his right to them; be excommunicated by the bishop from whom they were withheld, and shall pay three pounds in gold as a punishment.

23. The clergy are entrusted with the execution of all the decrees relating to the Jews, and enjoined to punish every violation of them, and when necessary, to employ force.

24. Should a priest in the execution of the above orders, by reason of self-interest or heedlessness, manifest sloth, such priest shall be excommunicated for three months and pay one pound in gold as a penalty, and if he cannot do this, he shall be excluded six months. Should there be none sufficiently inspired with zeal, then the sovereign prince shall punish their indolence and make good their offences. The same applies to all inferior clergy whom the bishop entrusts with this duty. Every judge who shall be tardy in punishing the above specified offence shall pay a pound of gold

Those priests, and judges and all others already mentioned, shall, when it is impossible to do so, or when real obstacles prevent them from executing those duties, be exempt from the above prescribed punishment.

25. The judges shall not pronounce judgment upon any offence committed without advice of clergy, in order that they may not be bribed by gifts. Where there is no clergyman, the judge may proceed alone. If it be necessary for a bishop to travel for some time, he shall leave behind him a substitute to act in this matter.

26. The whole clergy and the judges are enjoined to recommend every Jew to assemble, and shall, when they can do no better, bring the matter before the prince or before the higher clergy. As soon as one gives due notice, he is exempted from all responsibility, and the bishops are likewise exempted from punishment, when they have received no due notice.

27. All those who have forfeited their property and liberty, shall, in case they reform and can show testimony of their Christian conduct, be pardoned by the prince, and he shall recall the banished and restore to him his property. But those who return to Judaism, shall not be pardoned; on the contrary, they shall be punished as they may deserve.

28. In order to avoid all pretended ignorance, every clergyman is ordered to supply each Jew, who may come to him, with a copy of these new decrees; since the book is read in the church before them and then handed to them, no one can plead ignorance as an excuse. Besides, every priest shall faithfully preserve in his archives all the documents of the Jews, containing their confession and their oath, in order that they may serve as evidence against unfaithful ones.

These decrees are the first which have attained a degree of perfection that no former ones ever had. But the first glance at them will show their incompleteness. Not taking into view that the prescribed lashes which, in consequence of repeated offences, have been inflicted upon millions of Jews, who, no doubt, remained true to their faith, and that

they must have exhausted the catch-pole as well as inspired the judge with disgust, the treatment of the Jews was, (even supposing the bishops and judges had witnessed a sufficient degree of cruelty in seeing innocent men lacerated,) too painful not to weary them of such loathsome business. And in order to punish legally all the officers on account of negligence, the Gothic throne should have stood firmer than it did. The influence of these decrees upon the Jews is readily to be seen. They were forced to go over to the Catholic church, and gain nothing more than bitter scorn, the most disgraceful mortification and neglect as citizens, and the most unpleasant delays in travelling; besides that, they were exposed to the intrigues of the clergy.

After the lapse of a few years, the same king ordered Julian, archbishop of Toledo, to write against the Jews. He endeavored to persuade them of the truth of Christianity, by showing how strikingly the prophecies respecting the Messiah were fulfilled in our Lord; and by arguing that the destruction of the temple, the extinction of the priesthood and sacrifices, and their own dispersion throughout the world, clearly showed that the Mosaic ritual had come to an end. We know not that his writings had much influence upon the minds of his opponents; nor indeed was it to be expected that they would listen calmly or favorably to the arguments of a member of that ecclesiastical body, which was constantly occupied in enacting the most oppressive laws against them. The bigoted priesthood did not reflect that their persecuting spirit was as displeasing in the sight of God, as the obstinate unbelief which they charged upon their antagonists; and did not remember that all men are too prone to judge of a faith, not by its intrinsic merits, but by the conduct of those who make a profession of it. The ungodly lives of nominal Christians have always presented a formidable obstacle to the conversion of the ancient people: but when, as in Spain at this time, to a melancholy departure from the purity of evangelical doctrine there was added the fiercest intolerance, could it be surprising that few were really won over to that Gospel, which secures to the sincere believer peace in this world and in the world to come?

In the reign of Egica, the next king of Spain, the Jews were accused of holding a secret correspondence with their brethren in Africa, now enjoying toleration under the sway of the Mohammedans; and having formed a conspiracy to subdue and massacre the Christians. Another council was held at Toledo, where the bigoted clergy enacted, that all the Jews who were convicted of a share in this plot should be sold as slaves, and their children brought up in the true faith. Witiza, who succeeded to the throne, deemed it wise to attempt to recall the Jews who had fled from the rigorous edict of his predecessor, by proclaiming that their religion would be freely tolerated, and themselves restored to every privilege of citizenship. But, even if the intolerance of the priesthood would have suffered this prudent decree to be carried into effect, a very short time was allowed for its operation, for a few years afterwards the prince was succeeded by Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings.

Not long after the commencement of his reign, the Saracens, invading Spain, defeated Roderic, who was drowned in his flight from the fatal field of Xeres, and subdued the whole peninsula, with the exception of the mountainous district of the Asturias, which might justly boast of alone maintaining its religion and independence. When the Arabs were invited into the peninsula, and assisted in its conquest by so powerful a nobleman as Count Julian, it can excite little surprise if the oppressed Israelites not merely hailed in secret the approach of the invaders, and regarded them as their deliverers, but openly co-operated with them in attacking their Christian enemies. If any where in that country it might be anticipated that they would rise against their masters, it must have been at Toledo, the seat of intolerance, whence so many persecuting edicts had been dispersed through the land. And accordingly we are told by a Spanish annalist, that they introduced the Arabs into the city upon Palm-Sunday, while the inhabitants were engaged in a procession to a church without the walls; and that they assisted the infidels in a general massacre of the Christians,

when they returned home unsuspicious of danger. Whatever truth may be in this, they had good reason to rejoice at their deliverance from Gothic tyranny, as they lived in peace and plenty under the milder rule of their new masters.*

The Jews in France were regarded with scarcely more favor than their brethren on the other side of the Pyrennees; and they owed their safety, in a great measure, to the manner in which that country was divided among the descendants of Clovis. As the sovereigns of the different Gallic kingdoms, always rivals and often enemies, did not act in concert, when persecuted in one state they could find refuge in another. Besides, the weakness of many of the Merovingian princes prevented their intolerant edicts from being carried into effect; and the industrious Israelites found their sojourn among the idle and half-savage Franks too profitable to think of leaving their habitations, unless constrained by necessity. But it was not the persecuting spirit of the monarchs alone which they had to dread; they met with an intolerance equally fierce, and probably more effectual, in the zeal of councils and individual bishops. In that priest-ridden period, the clergy frequently intruded into the office of the civil magistrate; and thus we find various French synods, in the sixth and seventh centuries, forbidding the Jews to intermarry with Christians, excluding them from functions of trust and emolument, and making many other invidious distinctions between them and the professors of the dominant faith. As an instance of the misdirected zeal and extensive influence of the prelates of that age, we may mention the proceedings of Avitus of Clermont with respect to the Jews. This individual had at various times endeavored to persuade them to renounce their creed, but without effect. He had also on one occasion restrained his flock from a general massacre of them, which they were ready to perpetrate on seeing an insult offered by a too zealous Israelite to a new convert. On

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xxi. pp. 581, 582; and book vii. chap. iii. pp. 596, 597. Depping, pp. 24—32. Beugnot, pp. 185—192.

Ascension-day, however, the people (as if they imagined that their unchristian violence would be grateful to their exalted Savior) ran to the synagogue and destroyed it. The bishop, whether really approving this conduct or not, thought that the terror with which it was likely to inspire the Jews might prove a means of inducing them to abjure a faith for which they were exposed to such harsh treatment, and therefore sent a message that they must either embrace Christianity, or leave the city, adding, that he did not wish to force them to receive the Gospel, and therefore submitted the choice of two alternatives. Refusing to yield, they shut themselves up in a large building, along with their wives and children. The populace surrounded this edifice, their fury increased every moment, and they at length threatened to force the doors, and put every one of them to the sword. Distrusting their ability to resist so ferocious a mob, the Jews sent a messenger to the bishop requesting him to release them from their perilous situation, and promising to comply with his desires. Avitus hastened to the place, calmed the rage of the multitude, and received the submission of the trembling Israelites. They were baptized, to the number of five hundred, on the following Whit-Sunday, in the presence of a great number of the inhabitants of Clermont and its neighborhood, who crowded to witness a spectacle so unusual, and, as they probably deemed it, so triumphant. The philosopher may deride the folly, but the devout believer must lament the profanity, of such conversions.

It appears that kings sometimes endeavored to gain converts from Judaism by other means than those of violence. We are told by Gregory of Tours, that Chilperic, assisted by the episcopal historian himself, reasoned with Priscus, a rich Jew, his banker or jeweller, a man of great influence at court. But he was not convinced by the arguments of his majesty and his clerical coadjutor ; and, trusting to the favor which his royal master had hitherto shown him, he did not make even an external profession of the Gospel. Some time after, he was assassinated, while going to the

synagogue, by a Jewish renegade, who wished to signalize his zeal for a religion which he professed but did not understand. The murderer took refuge in a church; and according to that iniquitous custom, which turned the house of God into an asylum for criminals, received protection for the present. But some time afterwards, the family of Priscus, despairing of getting the assassin legally condemned, took an opportunity of putting him privately to death. The whole story is a curious illustration of the manners of the time.

Dagobert the First was the sovereign who treated the Jews with the greatest cruelty. Having obtained the hearty concurrence of the clergy, he issued an edict requiring all the Israelites in his dominions to profess Christianity, or betake themselves to other countries. Thus, under the Merovingian dynasty their condition was always precarious, and sometimes intolerable; but a better order of things arose for them, in common with their fellow-subjects, during the reigns of the Carlovingian princes, who shortly after supplanted the feeble and unworthy descendants of Clovis.*

* Basnage, book vi. chap. xxi. pp. 583, 584. Depping, p. 36—42. Beugnot, p. 68—71.

CHAPTER XII.

Golden age of Judaism—Kingdom of Khozar—Flourishing Condition of the Jews under the Caliphs of Bagdad—Anan and the Karaites—Leo the Isaurian and other Byzantine Emperors—Favor shown to the Jews by Charlemagne and Louis le Debonnaire—Agobard of Lyons—Caliphs of Cordova—Rabbinical Learning flourishes in Spain—Lives and Writings of Aben Ezra and Maimonides—Thirteen articles of Jewish Faith—Skill of Hebrew Physicians—Jewish Mistress of Alphonso IX. —From A. D. 660 to A. D. 1171.

The period of history which we now approach has been by Mr. Milman felicitously termed the golden age of the modern Jews. "To them the Moslem crescent was as a star, which seemed to soothe to peace the troubled waters on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the caliphs, in the East, in Africa, and in Spain, in the Byzantine empire, in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and successor, who, under Divine Providence, restored vigor and solidity to the Christian Empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mohammedanism; every where we behold the Jews, not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendor and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world; in the east it was before long interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine empire we are greatly in want of authentic information, both concerning the period in question, and that which followed it. In the west of Europe it was soon succeeded by an age of

iron. In Spain the daylight endured the longest,—to set in deep and total darkness." *

Before we enter, however, upon the consideration of this period, we may remark that, according to rabbinical tradition, there was about that time a kingdom to the west of the Caspian Sea, where Judaism was the established religion, though all other creeds enjoyed the most ample toleration. The name of it was Khozar.

What is already related of the enthronement of Judaism in the kingdom of Khozar from very ancient times, Bulan, —says the historian, who did not scorn to intermingle little fables and wonderful things in order to embellish dry statements of facts,—Bulan or Bula, a wise chakan or king of Khozar, first embraced Judaism from choice, and made it a condition in the election of future kings. A line of such Jewish kings has, since that time, reigned over the Khozarite nation more than two centuries and a half, without abolishing religious freedom. Each king had with him, if we may credit reports, a particular chakan, who resided always in the palace, and did not interfere in matters of government. Such a personage must certainly have represented the *chacham* of the Jews in Palestine, and other Jews; and was probably occupied with no other business than the study of Jewish laws, the contents of which, and the cases submitted to him for his decision, he made known to the king.

The king was held in great reverence. He went abroad but seldom, and received but few visitors. He gave audience only on pressing business, and then it became requisite for the person seeking audience of the chakan to fall on his face, according to the fashion of the Persians, and on command to arise, to wait. No person was permitted to ride by the grave of the chakan, but was obliged to alight, bow towards the grave, and pass by on foot until it was no longer in sight. When the chakan spake to a high functionary, "Go, die," this personage went home and

* History of the Jews, vol. iii. p. 269.

committed suicide. The chakan was also judge, in which capacity he had nine associates. These consisted of Jews, Christians, Mussulmen or heathen, without distinction of religion. Thus much of the fragment-like constitution of the Khozarite kingdom. The subjects were mostly Christians and Mahommedans; the number of Jews was inconsiderable, compared with the latter. Most of the subjects were gradually converted to Christianity, so that the Christian religion, since the enthronement of Judaism,—which, however, was still prevalent—became universally disseminated without being opposed by the Jewish kings. Judaism probably remained in the royal family until the Khozarites were subjugated by the slaves, and their kingdom fell to ruins.

The information of this Khozarite-Jewish kingdom made very little impression upon the Oriental Jews, who visited it often, and who perceived, perhaps, in such a Jewish king, more desire for an effeminate life, than sympathy for the general affairs of his suffering brethren; but it made the greater impression on the Jews in Spain, where, at that time, the learned Jews began to be distinguished as favorites at the court of the kings of Cordova. Hasdai b. Isaac was much esteemed at the court of Abderrahmen, who adopted the name of Emir-Al-moumenin,* from which is derived the corrupted Miramamolin, who did a vast deal for the promotion of science in Spain. This Hasdai had heard of the Jewish kingdom of Khozar, and determined to know more of that country, in order to enhance the importance of his brethren. He addressed, therefore, a letter to the king of Khozar, (who was unknown to him,) the contents of which, (the words may have been preserved genuine or not,) we give here by extracts. After having saluted the king of Khozar with a poetical introduction, in verse, entirely in Arabic-Hebrew taste, he continues:

"He, Hasdai b. Isaac, b. Ezra of the Jewish community of Spain, salutes the king with deepest reverence, and

* Bibl. Arab. Hesp. Escur. F. ii. pp. 37, 2; 103, 1; 200, 2.

rejoices over his greatness, and prays for his health. He feels himself of too little importance to be permitted, by this letter, to approach so great a king; but he would presume, nevertheless, to apply to him in writing, since he had the good fortune to be so near the king of Cordova, and would be glad to obtain information of an independent Jewish kingdom, which might contribute to elevate and strengthen his sunken brethren."

Upon this he gives him a description of Cordova, its position, and a mathematical diagram of the probable distance of Spain from Khozar.

"He believes," continues he, "that the great distance between countries is the cause of ignorance which has hitherto prevailed in Spain respecting the kingdom of Khozar, although report said that already a few learned Spaniards, namely, R. Juda bar Meir bar Nathan, and R. Joseph, had the fortune to be shipwrecked on the coast of Khozar, and had beheld the magnificence of that land with their own eyes,—a fortune which he wished he had experienced for himself, although he served a king who was considered the greatest of all the caliphs, inasmuch as he governed fertile and wealthy Spain, (of which he would add also a brief mathematical and physical description,) and many kings sought to obtain his favor. He, Hasdai, has the office of receiving all the ambassadors, and delivering their presents to his king. He had embraced every opportunity to inquire of ambassadors coming from distant countries about the kingdom of Khozar, but received no intelligence. It was true that a few merchants from Chorazin had given reports of it; but their accounts appeared to him incredible, and he had perceived interested motives in their narrations. However, the ambassadors from Constantinople confirmed him in the existence of a real Jewish kingdom in Khozar, and added that there were still other nations by land between the Greek and Khozar kingdoms, whilst by water a close connection existed between both; that the Khozarites sent fish, hides, and other merchandize to Constantinople; and that, generally, the commerce with the Khozarites was very

brisk; and, finally, that the name of the present king was Joseph.

"He had sought for a faithful messenger in order to despatch him with a letter to Khozar, and had bestowed this commission, the acceptance of which was declined by so many, on a certain R. Isaak ben Nathan, and furnished him with money and recommendations to the court of Constantinople; but he had been obliged, after the lapse of six months, to return without accomplishing his object, because, said he, the sea was navigable only at certain seasons, and also much too stormy, and the people in the country were engaged in war. This had occasioned him much grief. He had subsequently requested some persons from Palestine to send the letter, and they had promised him to forward it by way of Nisibis and Armenia, inasmuch as the ambassadors of the king of Gabal (interpreted by Al Zokolow, both of whom being unknown to us) had arrived, who had brought with them two Jewish rabbis, M. Saul and M. Joseph, who had taken upon themselves to forward the present document by other ambassadors to its destination.

"The king has promised to answer this letter by his secretary, and to give him intelligence as to the tradition about a primeval emigration of the Jews from the region of Mount Seir (not the one spoken of in the Bible) to a region which was probably the same with the Khozarites; he lamented that a Khozarite, (according to the account of those men) who had arrived six years before and been well received at the court of Spain, and who, notwithstanding every endeavor to find him, was not to be found.

"Since he had been thus deprived of the prospect of obtaining more particular intelligence of that kingdom, he would request him to send an exact account of the country of Khozar; the constitution, the internal condition; its inhabitants and products; the provinces subjected to him; the customary wars; moreover, the history of the nation and everything which might be of interest."

Thus far R. Hasdai's letter.—It is now said that after the lapse of some time, King Joseph answered R. Hasdai as

follows:—He originated from a line of kings in which he was the twelfth; the first of whom, Bulan, was directly stopped by an angel in a dream and commanded to embrace Judaism: but who subsequently had acknowledged it, since he had been convinced that the Christians, as well as the Moslems, acknowledged the faith of the Jews as the best, saving their own. Besides, the people of Khozar originated from Japhet and Thogarma, and were related to the Jews only through their fore-father's blood. The court, at the same time, follows the laws of the rabbis of Babylon and Palestine, which had been introduced by one of their kings. He describes to him, moreover, the situation and magnitude of the country, the number of vassals, and its large forces. Since we take the answer, as it now exists for mere supposition, the little which we extract from it is sufficient to show that even the author of the article had not presumed to convert the kingdom of Khozar into a real Jewish kingdom, and that therefore the mention of it could not particularly contribute to the increase of their pride, as R. Hasdai promised himself. Besides, we consider it highly improbable that the kings of Khozar had taken with them rabbinism, without at the same time aiming at the conversion of all the inhabitants, at least, the pagans.

A learned rabbi from Spain, R. Jehuda Hallevi, has made use of the foregoing answer in order to versify a philosophical conversation of King Bulan with a Jewish philosopher, the principal object of which is the confirmation of the religious state of the Jews. He wrote this conversation afterwards, in the Arabic language, from which, somewhat later, it was translated into Hebrew, although very much tinctured with Arabianism. The book is generally known by the name of Cusri or Cosri.

The Persian and Mesopotamian Israelites enjoyed a long season of peace and prosperity under the caliphs, first of the Ommiade, and afterwards of the Abbasside dynasty. Their academies of Sora and Pumbaditha were renowned for erudition, and attracted scholars even from the distant country of Spain. The race of doctors, called Gaonim, or Illus-

trious, formed a sort of literary aristocracy, who assisted or controlled the Prince of the Captivity in the exercise of his power. Shortly after the accession of their dynasty, the Abbasside caliphs began to distinguish themselves by their patronage of learning, and bestowed their favors upon its votaries without distinction of country or creed; seeking to attract to their court all who were remarkable for acquirements in science or literature. In this princely munificence the Eastern Jews had a full share. The Caliph Almamon, one of the most splendid and successful princes of his race, caused the more valuable of the Jewish books to be translated into Arabic, an honor which they enjoyed in common with the finest productions of Grecian philosophy. Plato and Aristotle would have smiled, if they had seen the volumes which were deemed worthy to be placed side by side with their works in the royal library at Bagdad; and would have alleged that the barbarian's zeal for learning was more fervid than discriminating. The doctors of the Mohammedan law looked with dislike on the conduct of their sovereign, and regarded with equal contempt the nervous style of the Stagyrite, and the wild fictions of rabbinical tradition.

But, though the Mesopotamian academies flourished, and became distinguished for the acquirements of their teachers and the number of their scholars, they were not always the scene of peaceful study alone. Divisions sometimes broke out among the doctors, and unseemly spectacles of strife were afforded to the gaze of their Mussulman and Christian opponents. The most remarkable of these dissensions, viewed in reference to its consequences, was that occasioned by Anan, a rabbi of great abilities. This man, according to Jewish authorities, having taken offence, either because he was deemed unworthy of the princedom of the captivity, or because he was not admitted into the number of the Gaonim, revived the opinions of the Karaites, and made himself a most formidable adversary to rabbinical power.

The sect of the Karaites derive their name from the word

KARA, *textus*, in consequence of their tenacious adherence to the Scriptures, and the rejection of all rabbinical traditions. Morious, in his Exercitationes, supposes that this sect adopted the name of KARAIM, i. e. *Textuarii Scriptuarii*, as glorying in their distinguishing characteristic; but they themselves deny this, and say that their enemies gave them the name, as an epithet of reproach, in the same manner as Protestants have obtained the titles of Biblicals, Scripturals, Evangelicals, &c. The principal settlement of the Karaites, after the destruction of Jerusalem, was Cairo, in Egypt. They are also found at Constantinople, Damascus, Bagdad, Jerusalem, and other parts of Judea. In Russia, also, they have synagogues and separate settlements.

The antiquity of this sect seems to be well established. They themselves pretend to an antiquity which derives its origin from the prophets who flourished about the period of the captivity, Daniel, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. The rabbis also, and especially Maimonides, acknowledge the antiquity of the Karaites. They affirm Anan to be the restorer, not the author of their sect, and this is acknowledged by R. Abraham Hallevi Ben Diov, who speaks of the Karaites under the epithet of minim, (heretics.) The Karaites have been confounded with the Sadducees,* probably because they both agreed in rejecting

* The Sadducees derive their name from Sadok, a pupil of Antigonus Sochaeus, president of the great Sanhedrim about two hundred and sixty years before the Christian era, who inculcated upon his scholars the duty of serving God out of pure love to him, and not in a servile manner, under the fear of punishment or with the hope of reward. Sadok, misunderstanding this spiritual doctrine, concluded that there was no future state of rewards and punishments, and accordingly taught and propagated that error after his master's death. Hence they held that 'there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit,' (Mat. xxii. 23, Acts xxiii. 8,) and that the soul perishes with the body at death. They rejected all traditions, adhering strictly to the letter of Scripture, but preferring the books of Moses; and they denied the superintending providence of God, and held that man enjoyed the most ample freedom of action, having the absolute power to do either good or evil, as he thought proper, and having

tradition. But the Sadducees rejected Scripture, also, or part of it, which the Karaites did not do; as their very name, if other proof were wanting, sufficiently shows. The antiquity of this sect is further proved, from their being mentioned in the Mishna, in Cod. Megilla.

The Karaites also assert that our Savior was a member of their community, and that he entertained the same opinion as themselves with respect to the interpolations of the rabbis; in support of which belief they adduce his repeated and violent denunciations against the rabbinical interpretations, and most positively deny that any member of their sect was, in the slightest degree, implicated in the crucifixion.

These people likewise believe that they possess the only authentic copy of the Old Testament extant. Like the Quakers, they provide amply for the poor; are principally engaged in commerce, and generally wealthy.

The Karaites use circumcision because they are commanded to do so in the law. They do not wear the fringes, as the rabbinists do, but only at morning prayer, when they put on the talith, which is made of cotton, with four fringes. The fringes of the Karaites also differ widely in the number of threads, from those used by the rabbinical Jews. The latter make theirs of eight, the former of thirty-two, because it is written, "Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make their fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations; and that they put upon the fringes of the borders a riband of blue; and it shall be unto you as a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord and do them," (Numbers xvii. 38, 39.) Now, the Karaites say, all the commandments of God are contained in the five books of Moses, which begin with the letter *beth*, and end with *lamed;* which, united, mean thirty-two. When we look upon these thirty-two fringes, we remember the whole law.

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his prosperity or adversity placed within his own control, being respectively the effects of his wisdom or folly.

Sixteen of the threads of the fringes are of white silk, and sixteen of blue; for they say *tachaleth* means blue. The Rabbinists make their fringes of white wool; they say *tachaleth* was a color which was made of the blood of a fish which appeared only once in seventy years, but since the destruction of the temple, the fish, which is called chilayon, disappeared entirely, and they have, therefore, now no *tachaleth*. The Karaites have no *mezoza* on the doors of their houses, like the Rabbinists, but on the doors of their synagogues. Their *shechitah*, or the manner in which they kill their animals, is also very different from that of the Rabbinists. The Karaites will not eat meat killed by the Rabbinists, nor the latter what is slaughtered by the Karaites. The Rabbinists give the animal three blows with a knife, but the Karaites only give one and a half, besides which they have no *bedicka*, or examination of the interior of the animal. The feasts of the new year and of pentecost only last one day among the Karaites, while among the rabbinical Jews they last two. They have no *hoshana Rabba*, and no *chanicka*, feast of dedication.* The former is kept very sacred by the rabbinical Jews. It is the seventh day of the feast of tabernacles, on which they offer up prayers for the forgiveness of sins, for prosperity, for health. The word *hoshana*, Hossana, occurs several times throughout the prayer. Whenever it does so, they call it *hoshana Rabba*, or the great Hossana, or the day of great help, assistance, or salvation. They sit up the whole of the night, reading portions of the Scriptures, prayers, and other books; namely, the whole of the fourth book of Moses, the whole of the Psalms, and portions of the Sohar, &c. The feast of dedication lasts eight days among the rabbinical Jews. The Karaites do not keep either of these feasts. They have four fasts in the year—the 7th and 10th of Ab, 10th of Tebeth, and the day of atonement. They do not blow the trumpet on new year's day during prayer, like the rabbinical Jews, who say that Satan is, on that day in particular, accusing them before God: they therefore blow a

* See Appendix.

trumpet made of a ram's horn, the sound of which makes Satan so confused that he does not know what he says. Dr. Yost is misinformed when he says in his "History of the Jews," the Karaites keep the custom of the redemption of widows,* and the redemption of the first-born, and that their sons drink no wine and eat no meat until they are seven years old. This is not the case. They have ten articles of faith, which are as follows :

"1. All things which exist are created.

"2. They did not create themselves, but were created.

"3. God is one, and has no form, no likeness ; none is like unto him.

"4. God has sent Moses, our master.

"5. God has given unto us, by Moses, his perfect law.

"6. It is necessary that each believer should know the language and meaning of the law ; i. e. that he should know how to read the same, and the interpretation of it."

From the explanation of this article, it would appear that the Karaites believe that God gave the law to Moses, written in the same way as we have it now, with the accents and the vowels ; and in order to understand the meaning of the Bible, the study of grammar and of logic is recommended.

"7. That God has inspired the rest of the prophets.

"8. God shall raise the dead at the day of judgment.

"9. God shall reward each man according to his deeds.

"10. God does not cast away the men of the captivity, though they are under his chastisement, yet they must hope for his help through the Messiah, the son of David."

In the explanation of this article, it is said that the Messiah will certainly appear at the end of six thousand years, (after the creation,) perhaps before.

The Karaites are detested very much by the rabbinical Jews, who consider them worse than the Gentiles, particularly in Jerusalem. But it appears that elsewhere this enmity is fast passing away, for there exists a printed cor-

* See Ruth iv. 2, 3, 4.

respondence between the chiefs of the Karaites in Russia, and some of the chief rabbinical Jews of Berlin, Vienna, and other places.

In the Byzantine empire, this "golden age" of Judaism appears to have been less peaceful and prosperous than elsewhere. Various monkish writers have accused the Jews of exciting the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, to that uncompromising warfare which he waged against images. They say that two Israelites came from Persia (where their brethren had lately induced the caliph Yezed to turn iconoclast) into Asauria, a province of Asia Minor. Tired with their journey, they sat down to rest beside a fountain, where they were joined by a young peasant, who was driving an ass laden with petty wares. Looking at him attentively, they astonished him by predicting that he would one day assume the purple; adding, that it would greatly become him to exert his imperial power against the flagitious infraction of the second commandment of the law, daily practised by those who adored the images of the saints. The prophecy and advice sunk alike into the mind of Leo; and, when the former was accomplished, he zealously endeavored to carry the latter also into effect. This tale is, however, inconsistent with the known facts of his life; and in particular is contradicted by the circumstance, that after he became emperor, he persecuted the seed of Israel. We know that the veneration paid to images, by certain corrupt portions of the Christian church, has always proved a great hindrance to the conversion of the Jews, and is one cause of their hatred to the professed followers of the Redeemer. Nor can it be surprising, that, offended by the constant violations of a commandment, they should have profited by the edicts of the iconoclastic emperors, and melted down images, or otherwise converted them to what their votaries would term profane purposes.

Among the various calumnies which have been recorded by the monkish historians against Constantine Copronymus, the son and successor of Leo, it has been alleged that he became a Jew solely because he was a determined enemy

of image-worship. The Emperor Nicephorus the First has, by the same writers, been branded with Judaism, because he tolerated the Israelites; and Michael the Stammerer, for a similar reason, is termed, by Zonaras, with as little sense as delicacy, "the common sewer of all religions," as if the liberty of conscience, which he allowed to different sects, had been the result of his borrowing somewhat from each of their creeds, in order to make up an eclectic faith of his own.*

If our knowledge of the state of the Jews in the Eastern empire be scanty, our information respecting their condition in Italy is still more meagre. We may, however, conclude, that the silence of history with regard to them is occasioned by the absence of persecution.

In France they enjoyed under Charlemagne the most liberal toleration, and amply shared in the general prosperity which characterized his long and successful reign. Complaints were made to him of the conduct of various ecclesiastics, who were accustomed to sell or pledge to Hebrew merchants the rich plate and vestments belonging to the church. A weak or superstitious monarch would have screened the guilty clergy and punished the Israelites; but he acted otherwise, and merely forbade, under severe penalties, the disposing of such goods in so irreverent a manner. Various Jews enjoyed the especial favor of this great prince. When he determined to send an embassy to the Caliph Harounal-Raschid, he made choice of one, named Isaac, as his representative; probably because none of his Christian subjects possessed a competent knowledge of the languages of the East. His Arab physician, too, had one of the same nation as a pupil and assistant, who translated into Latin a medical treatise which his instructor had composed for the use of the court.

Well may a modern historian exclaim, "How many crimes would have been spared, if all sovereigns had imitated the wise policy of Charlemagne towards the Jews!"

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* Basnage, book vii. chap. iii. pp. 595, 596.

That policy was indeed continued under the reign of Louis le Debonnaire, his son and successor; and the Hebrews became so powerful, that their favor was courted at great expense even by princes. In every respect they were placed upon a level with their fellow-subjects. If any dispute arose between one of them and a Christian, three persons of each religion were chosen as arbiters, to settle the matter amicably; if their efforts were unsuccessful, the case was laid before the emperor, or deputies appointed by him. All provincial governors and magistrates were strictly enjoined to give the Israelites full liberty to pass from town to town with their goods, and were even forbidden to exact any toll or custom from them. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from baptizing the slaves of Jewish masters without their permission; and the whole people were exempted from the ordeals of fire and the punishment of scourging, except in cases where their own laws required it to be inflicted. The confidential adviser of Louis was his Hebrew physician, Zedekiah; whose influence over the emperor was ascribed to magic,—of his skill in which the most extravagant tales are related by several of the monkish writers.

We are told that the Christian inhabitants of France, disregarding altogether the edicts of former kings and the canons of councils, lived in habits of the utmost familiarity with the Israelites; that they took part in their festivals, attended their synagogues, and even preferred the discourses of the rabbis to the homilies of their own clergy. But the most remarkable proof of the influence which the Jews enjoyed at this time is afforded by the failure of Agobard, bishop of Lyons, who attempted to revive the sentiments with which they had been regarded in a former age. This prelate witnessed with grief and displeasure the prosperity which they enjoyed in his city, where they possessed the most sumptuous edifices. He first endeavored, by pastoral addresses to his flock, to put a stop to that intercourse with them, which he deemed so scandalous; but the Israelites, considering these episcopal admonitions as infringing on

their privileges, complained to Louis, who sent orders to Agobard to give them no disturbance. The bishop wrote a letter to the emperor, justifying the part he had taken, and accusing the others of many flagitious practices; the most criminal of which was their selling Christian slaves to the Moors. He complained that he was an object of enmity to them and their partisans at court, for no other reason than his zealous endeavors to put an end to this nefarious traffic. Such an accusation deserved at least a rigorous inquiry; but Agobard had already weakened his influence with the sovereign by the favor which he showed to his rebellious sons, and he now marred the effect of his just complaints by the importance which he attached to the most frivolous circumstances. As his letter produced no effect, he endeavored at an interview with the emperor, to induce him to assent to his views, but here also he entirely failed; and accordingly, in his correspondence with his friends, he vents all the angry feelings of a man who has seen the dearest wishes of his heart completely blasted.

Louis le Debonnaire was succeeded by his son, Charles the Bald; and under his reign the Jews enjoyed almost as much favor as during that of his father. They paid indeed into the royal treasury a tenth part of their gains, while their Christian fellow-subjects paid only an eleventh; but their industry prevented them from suffering much by this invidious distinction. It was by an Israelite, named Judah, probably his banker or treasurer, that Charles sent a present of ten pounds of silver to the cathedral of Barcelona; and in the letter to the magistrates of that city, which accompanied the donation, he mentions the testimony which the envoy had given him of the devotion of the Barcelonese to his person. Zedekiah, the physician of the late monarch, continued in favor at the court of his son; and is said to have been bribed, by some discontented nobles to administer poison to his sovereign. After the reign of this prince, the kingdom of France was rent into petty principalities, which scarcely owned a nominal subjection to the representative of Charlemagne; and was ravaged with little

resistance by the Normans, then the scourge of almost every state in Europe. It was, indeed, an age of turbulence and great misery; and though history is almost silent with regard to the Jews, it is to be feared that they shared largely in the sufferings of their fellow-citizens.* They were accused of favoring the designs of the northern invaders; and such a charge, however ill founded, was probably made the pretext for legal oppression by sovereigns, and for lawless persecution by bigoted ecclesiastics or disorderly mobs.

It must be a cause of sorrow and shame to a sincere Christian to reflect upon the perverse manner in which superstition in Spain has blasted the benefits of the religion most favorable to civilization, and to consider that the period of greatest prosperity enjoyed by that unhappy country was during its subjection to the Moorish sway. It must likewise occasion deep regret to remember that in the same country, both under the Visigothic kings who preceded the Mohammedan conquest, and under the modern sovereigns who have reigned since the re-establishment of the Christian faith throughout the Peninsula, the Gospel has been dishonored by its intolerant professors, and rendered by their conduct more repulsive to the unbeliever. The descendants of the Spanish Jews must look back upon the era of Mussulman rule, as the time when their forefathers enjoyed a peace and prosperity, of which the children of Abraham have never partaken at any other period of their dispersion. It is customary to consider the brilliant age of the kingdoms of Cordova and Granada, as a cheering light amidst the darkness and ignorance which Europe then presented; and assuredly one of the chief means by which the splendor of those sovereignties was acquired and preserved, was their liberal toleration granted to all religious sects. Could we forget the delusion of the false faith by which they were spell-bound, we might think with undisturbed delight of

* Basnage, book vii. chap. iii. p. 598—600. Depping, p. 43—56. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 74—82; sec. part, p. 44—52.

the wise and beneficent policy that long characterized the Moors, and deservedly raised their dominions to a great height of prosperity. We can at least recount with satisfaction, that in Spain the Jews enjoyed a long-continued "Age of Gold." They were indeed sometimes harassed, and on one or two occasions underwent even the severity of persecution; but the worst that they had to endure was mercy itself, when compared with the savage intolerance of the Visigoths.

We have no very distinct information of the condition of the Hebrews in the first years of that magnificent dynasty, which Abderrahman, the only survivor of the Ommiade race, founded at Cordova, in opposition to the Abbasside caliphate of Bagdad. We merely know that they shared in the general prosperity of the Moorish realm. They became renowned for industry and wealth; and the unfortunate circumstances in which their Eastern brethren were placed, gave them an opportunity of acquiring distinction in learning also. The caliphs of Bagdad departed from the wise policy of their predecessors, and persecuted the Babylonian Jews: they even abolished the princedom of the captivity, shut up the schools, and dispersed the teachers. One of the most learned of these doctors, Rabbi Moses, with his son Enoch, fell into the power of a Spanish pirate. Being brought to Cordova they were ransomed by an Israelite, who knew not their distinction, but took compassion on them as evidently of kindred extraction. The elder rabbi one day entered the synagogue in the mean attire suited to his poverty; but showed such profound knowledge in the discussion of the questions which were started, that Nathan, the head of the community, declared that he would willingly abdicate his office in favor of the stranger. Moses was accordingly chosen in his room, and became the founder of a school which rendered Spain as famous for rabbinical learning as Palestine or Mesopotamia had ever been. Till his time the Jews in the peninsula paid very little attention to the study of the Talmud, but now such researches were prosecuted with the utmost ardor. Besides the great academy of Cor-

dova, smaller schools were established at Granada, Toledo, as well as other cities, and were soon crowded with enthusiastic scholars. Rabbi Moses was succeeded by his son Enoch ; but after his demise, Samuel Halevi, a Spaniard by birth, became the head of the Cordovan seminary, and, as his two predecessors were of Asiatic lineage, is by many writers deemed the founder of European rabbinism. The Caliph Hakem caused the Talmud, or more probably a portion of that voluminous work, to be translated into Arabic ; either to satisfy his own curiosity in regard to a work so highly venerated by the rabbis, or to diffuse the knowledge of it more generally among his Hebrew subjects, of whom many were altogether ignorant of the original language. He intrusted the execution of this task to Rabbi Joseph ben Schatnes, who, according to some, was a pupil of Rabbi Moses, and the rival of Enoch ; but he is said to have rendered himself so unpopular among his countrymen by his quarrels with the latter, that he was obliged to retire to Damascus, where he died in exile. A great number of learned men adorned the Jewish community at this period of prosperity under the Moorish dominion. They cultivated every branch of literature and science that was then held in esteem, distinguishing themselves in theology, medicine, astronomy, and even poetry. Several of their works have been printed and translated into Latin, as also into the chief vernacular languages of Europe ; many more remain in manuscript among the literary treasures at Paris, Rome, and especially the Escurial. The prayers of Moses ben Ezra, and the hymns of Schelomo ben Gabriel ben Juda, are still in use among the German Israelites. But by far the most illustrious of these learned persons were Aben Ezra and Maimonides ; of whom we must speak somewhat more in detail.

Aben Ezra was born at Toledo in Spain, in the year 1099. He was a man of most extensive learning, being well skilled in grammar, philosophy, astronomy and medicine. He was intimately acquainted with Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic ; and published many works in these learned languages. His

style has been much admired for its elegance, conciseness, and perspicuity. By his countrymen he was called "The Wise;" and Maimonides, who was contemporary with Aben Ezra, held him in such high estimation, that, in a letter of instruction addressed to his son, he commands him to study the writings of Aben Ezra continually, and to study no others; he regarding them as the most excellent, useful, elegant, learned, and abounding with sound judgment. His style has been said to approach nearly that of the Holy Scriptures, and his commentaries upon the several books of the Old Testament are remarkable for the learning they display, and the strict manner in which the literal sense has been adhered to. Besides his commentaries, and other theological works, he composed many on grammatical and astronomical subjects, some of which are in print. He is reputed to be the inventor of the division of the celestial sphere by the equator. He travelled in most parts of Europe, and associated with the most learned of his time. His works are dated at various places, from which we may partly learn the course of his travels. He was at Mantau in 1145, at Rhodes in 1156, in England in 1159, and at Rome in 1167. He is supposed to have lived seventy-five years. He died at Rhodes, where he had lived some years, and gave orders that his bones should be buried in the Holy Land.

His rival was a still more extraordinary character, whose real name was Moses ben Maimon, though he is generally known by the patronymic of Maimonides. He was one of the most celebrated Jewish writers—of an illustrious family at Cordova, in Spain. The date of his birth is obtained from the following subscription by Maimonides himself, at the conclusion of his Mishnic commentary, in the edition of Naples, 1492:—"I, Moses, son of R. Maimon, Judge, son of R. Joseph, the Wise, or the Doctor, son of R. Isaac, Judge, son of R. Joseph, Judge, son of R. Obadias, Judge, son of R. Salomon, teacher of R. Obadias and Judge, (may the memory of the saints be blessed!) began to compose the commentary of this book at the age of twenty-three; and I finished it in Egypt when thirty years old, the seventy-ninth

year of the Contracts."* He went into Egypt at an early period of his life, and from this circumstance is frequently called "Moses the Egyptian." The Jews are unable to set bounds to the veneration in which this learned man is held: he is called "The Great Eagle;" "The Eagle of the Doctors;" "The Great Luminary;" "The Glory of the East;" "The Light of the West;" and they add, that "From Moses unto Moses, there arose none like until Moses." This will suffice to show the very high opinion entertained of this celebrated man by his countrymen.

It appears from a decree † issued by Abdelmumen ben Ali Alkumi, king of Cordova, that all Jews and Christians who refused to embrace Mohammedanism, were expelled the country. Maimonides affected to embrace it, and acquiesced in all its customs and rites, until his affairs were sufficiently arranged to admit of his departure into Egypt. Upon his arrival at Fostat, he again professed the Jewish religion, and opened a school of philosophy, became a physician, and supported himself for a time by the produce of the sale of his jewels. When Alfadel Abdel Rachim ben Ali Albason became ruler of Egypt, he took Maimonides under his protection, and appointed him his physician, with an annual salary. In this character he appears to have been very conspicuous; for in a letter from Maimonides to Tybbon, who had by letter consulted him upon some difficult points, he replies — "I am so perpetually engaged, that it will be impossible for you to reap any advantage from me, or even to obtain a single hour's private conversation with me in any part of the four-and-twenty. I live in Egypt, the king in Alkaira; which places us two Sabbath-days' journey asunder. My common attendance upon the king is once every morning: but when his majesty, his concubines, or any of the royal family, are the least indisposed, I am not suffered to stir a foot from them; so that my whole time, you see, is almost spent at court. In short, I go to Alkaira every morning early, and if all be well there, return home about

* Rossi Dizionario, ii. 21. † Casiri Bibl. Arab. Hisp. i. 293.

noon; where, however, I no sooner arrive, than I find my house surrounded by many different sorts of people, Jews and Gentiles, rich men and poor, magistrates and mechanics, friends as well as enemies, who have all been waiting impatiently for me. As I am generally half famished upon my return to Alkaira, I prevail with this multitude, as well as I can, to suffer me to regale myself with some dinner; and as soon as I have done, I attend this crowd of patients, with whom, what with examining into their particular maladies, and what with prescribing for them, I am often detained till it is night; and I am always so fatigued at last, that I can scarcely speak, or even keep myself awake. And this is my constant way of life," &c. His knowledge of divinity was equal to his knowledge of medicine. He was learned in a great number of languages, and skilled in all arts and sciences. He was particularly eminent in mathematics. His works are very numerous, and although written originally in Arabic, Chaldee and Greek, are rarely met with but in Hebrew or Latin translations.

Maimonides likewise wrote a treatise, which he called Jad Hazaka, or the Strong Hand; which is an abridgment of the Talmud, divided into fourteen books, and forming a manual of the civil, criminal and canon law of the Jews. It is written with simplicity and elegance, and is very useful to those who wish to acquire a knowledge of Judaism. This work has been used in many of the Hebrew communities in the East, as a code for the direction of their judges; and it has been, in part at least, translated into Latin by a converted Jew of Metz. His commentary on the Mishna, and his Moreh Nevochim, or Guide of the Perplexed, are the most celebrated of his works. This is not, as some perhaps might imagine, a system of casuistry, like the "Ductor Dubitantium" of Jeremy Taylor; but an explication of difficult passages in the Old Testament. It was composed at the age of fifty, when his mind had attained its full maturity; and accordingly in it he took occasion to retract same hasty opinions which he had expressed in the Jad Hazaka. In order to make it more extensively useful, he wrote it in

Arabic ; but it was translated into Hebrew by a learned contemporary rabbi, Judah Alcarisi.* This version, however, did not meet with his approbation. The Moreh Nevochim was condemned by Solomon ben Abraham, chief of the synagogue at Montpelier, who asserted that the works of its author were heretical, and infected with the philosophy of Averroes ; he added that many of his arguments gave a great advantage to the Christians, and might be made use of to undermine his own faith. Solomon, with his disciples, David and Jonah, adopted harsher methods of counteracting his doctrines than a simple declaration of private opinion. They forbade the reading of his works, upon pain of excommunication, and caused to be burnt all the copies of them which they could seize. On the other hand, the rabbis of Narbonne, Beziers, and other cities in the south of France, who entered the lists in defence of the accused, excommunicated Solomon, with his friends, for their audacity in condemning the writings of one whom his followers had termed the Glory of the East and the Light of the West. A long dispute, characterized by fierce party spirit, ensued between the opponents and adherents of Maimonides ; and it was not till an embassy, sent into Spain to ascertain the sentiments of the rabbis there, had brought back a favorable report of his orthodoxy, that the doctors of Montpelier would confess themselves in the wrong. This dissension was not terminated till 1232, long after the death of him who had given occasion to it.

In order to prevent the inculcation of false doctrine among his countrymen, Maimonides drew up a short confession of faith, consisting of thirteen articles, which is still used in the Hebrew schools. These are as follow :

I. God is the creator and governor of all things.

II. He is the only God.

III. He is incorporeal, incomprehensible by man's reason, and dissimilar from all created things.

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* The same rabbi translated Maimonides's Commentary on the Mishna into Hebrew, for the benefit of the Jews of Marseilles.

IV. He is the first and the last.

V. He alone is to be worshipped.

VI. All the words of the prophets are true.

VII. Moses is the father of all the wise men previous and subsequent to his time; all his prophecies are true.

VIII. Every part of the law, at present in our hands, has been transmitted to us from Moses.

IX. This law never will be changed or superseded by any other record of the Creator's will.

X. The Creator knows all the deeds and thoughts of men.

XI. He rewards those who obey, and punishes those who transgress his commandments.

XII. The Messiah will assuredly come, and his arrival must be waited for, however tardy it be.

XIII. The dead will rise when it pleases the Creator.

The author of this creed added to it an anathema against all who should depart from its doctrines. Such heretics were not merely to be excommunicated, but also to become the just objects of the hatred and persecution of all orthodox Jews. Among those fundamental articles of faith, Maimonides inculcates the belief of the resurrection from the dead; but he imagined, with other rabbis, that this glorious privilege was to be limited to the pious among the Jews,—all the irreligious, whether nominally Israelites, or open enemies of the Hebrew tenets, being left in the silence of the grave to all eternity. He died in the year 1208, having completed his seventieth year. His death excited general grief, and he was mourned by all the synagogues of the east and west. Those of Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, ordered a public mourning for three days, during which period a solemn fast was observed. The year in which he died has been called "Lamentum lamentabile." He was buried in the Holy Land.*

Even among the Christian inhabitants of Spain, in spite of the jealousy and ill-will which they manifested towards the Jews, the professional skill of the latter was universally

* Rossi. Chalmers

admired. Hebrew physicians were occasionally to be found at court; and it was to one of them, in the service of the King of Leon, that the estates of that realm applied, in order to dissuade their sovereign from an alliance with Arragon. The monarch was remarkable for the hastiness of his temper, and none of his counsellors would venture to remonstrate with him on that unpopular project. The medical attendant was selected, as possessing so much influence over the mind of his royal patient, that he might undertake with safety, and the hope of success, that task, from the danger of which all others recoiled.

One of the most singular circumstances in the Spanish annals is the story of a fair Jewess who captivated the affections of Alphonso IX. of Castile. The infatuated prince forgot, in the guilty embraces of his mistress, the cares of sovereignty, and the dangers which threatened his dominions alike from the Moors and Christians. Some reverses sustained by the Castilian arms were ascribed by the discontented people to the just anger of Heaven; a tumult broke out in the capital; and the insurgents penetrating into the palace, massacred the unhappy lady in the presence of the king. The monarch was roused by this outburst of popular fury to a sense of the impropriety of his conduct; he shook off the trammels of sloth; and, in a well-fought battle on the plains of Tolosa, retrieved the tarnished honor of Castile.*

* Basnage, book vii. chap. x p. 635. Depping, pp. 107, 108.

CHAPTER XIII.

Iron Age of Judaism—Suppression of the Princedom of the Captivity—Benjamin of Tudela and Petachia—Jews in Italy—Nilus the Calabrian—Singular Custom at the Accession of a Pope—Synagogues of the South of France—Family of the Kimchi—Travels of Solomon Jarchi—The Jews at Beziers assaulted every Easter—Cruelties of the Crusaders—St. Bernard and Peter of Cluni—Philip Augustus banishes the Jews from France, but afterwards permits their return—Conduct of St. Louis—The Jews are again banished by Philip the Fair, and their property confiscated—Lewis Hutin permits them to return—Sanguinary Persecution in the south of France, which makes them happy to leave the Kingdom—They make a bargain with Charles the Wise, and again return—Final Expulsion under Charles VI.—Toleration of the Jews in Provence—The Jews of Castile—Alphonso the Wise—Don Joseph, a Jew, Treasurer to Alphonso XI.—Anecdote of a Queen of Castile—Jews excluded from Barcelona—Bedrasci—Don Santo—Conferences between Jews and Christians in Arragon—Disputation in the presence of the Anti-pope Benedict XIII.—Joseph Albo—Conversions effected by Vincent Ferrier—New Christians—Banishment of the Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella—Hardships suffered by the Exiles—The Portuguese Jews distinguish themselves in Commerce and Literature—Printing Press established by them at Lisbon—Sufferings of the Jews in Portugal—They are expelled by King Manuel—Persecution of those who conformed to Christianity.—From A. D. 1130 to A. D. 1500.

The consideration of the prosperity which marked the golden age of Judaism, has brought us down to a period of Moorish history, posterior, by several centuries, to the time when what is termed "the Iron Age," commenced in the East. We have already alluded to the persecution which drove Rabbi Moses from Mesopotamia, and proved the means of establishing a flourishing school in Spain. But, previously to the storm which burst upon them, the Babylonian Jews had been distracted by internal dissensions. About the middle of the tenth century, David ben Soccai, the Prince of the Captivity, who was of a haughty and turbulent temper, is said to have taken advantage of the

weakness of the Caliph Moktader to assume privileges to which the Jewish rulers were not legally entitled. He also embroiled himself with the rabbis by his very unwise interference. A vacancy having occurred in the presidentship of the academy of Sora, he named Om Tob, an obscure individual, to supply it. This person soon displayed his utter incompetency for the situation which had been conferred upon him; and Rabbi Saadiah, a doctor of great renown, was summoned from Egypt, to redeem the lost reputation of the seminary. He taught with great success; but, not long after his arrival, the prince quarreled with him, because he would not obey an illegal order which he had given, and even threatened him with the loss of his head. The pupils espoused the cause of their master; and the rabbi, emboldened by their support, retaliated upon the prince by excommunicating him, and transferring his dignity to his brother Joseph. This unseemly contest lasted several years; in the course of which, Saadiah was obliged to flee from his school, and retire to a place of security, where he remained during a time sufficient to enable him to compose several works of great reputation. He afterwards issued from his retreat, and was reconciled to the prince. So sincere was the friendship which now ensued between two men formerly so bitterly opposed, that the rabbi became the guardian of David's grandson when early left an orphan. Some time after this, it appears that Scherira filled at once the offices of Prince of the Captivity, and head of the academy at Pherutz Schabur, a city in Mesopotamia, where the Jews are said, by an extravagant hyperbole, to have amounted to the number of nine hundred thousand. This professor, who taught during thirty years, and distinguished himself by his zeal against the Christians, wrote a great deal in controversy with the monks, whom he stigmatized by the opprobrious appellation of *forgers*. Finding himself sinking under the weight of years, he associated with him in his dignities his son Hai, who well supported his hereditary reputation. He wrote on various subjects, and acquired so great distinction, that men came from all quarters to consult

him. He is reckoned the last of the Gaonim or Illustrious. In the midst of his fame, he and his father, now upwards of one hundred years old, were seized by order of the Caliph Kader, who had been excited to this violence by the reports which he heard of their great wealth. Scherira was hanged; but Hai had the good fortune to escape, and was even suffered to return to his school, where he taught unmolested till his death. Hezekiah, the next and the last Prince of the Captivity, had held his dignity only two years, when, with his whole family, he was arrested by order of the caliph. He was deprived of life, and with him terminated the long line of Babylonian rulers. At the same time, the celebrated Mesopotamian academies were finally shut, and rabbinical learning was constrained to seek a retreat in the west of Europe.*

In the following century, the Eastern Jews were visited by two European travellers of their own faith, Benjamin of Tudela, and Petachia of Ratisbon.† They found a considerable number of Israelites still residing beyond the Euphrates, notwithstanding the persecutions which they had undergone; but though they had a few petty schools among them, the glory of their great academies had departed forever, and their cities were marked only by ruins.

Few traces are to be found in history of the state of the Jews in Palestine at this period. They have never ceased to look with reverence to that land where their ancestors were so long blessed with the favor of the Most High; and in the writings of their rabbis are still to be found the most extravagant opinions respecting the benefit which may be derived from a residence in Jerusalem or Judea. Yet at the time when the travellers above mentioned visited the Holy Land, there were very few in it who professed the Hebrew faith. In Jerusalem, Benjamin found only two hundred of his countrymen, who for the most part were engaged in dyeing wool, and possessed a monopoly of the

* Basnage, book vii. chap. iv. pp. 602, 603.

† Basnage, book vii. chap. vii. p. 617—625. Depping, p. 156—165.

trade, for which they annually paid a certain sum of money Petachia, who travelled a few years later, says that he saw in the Holy City only a single Israelite, the rabbi Abraham Hakaba, who had purchased permission to reside there at a heavy price. It is not easy to reconcile these different accounts of two persons, at periods so nearly contemporary, except by supposing, either that the one speaks only of the rabbis or learned Jews, when he mentions Hakaba as the sole representative of the posterity of Abraham; or that some outbreak of fanaticism on the part of the Christians (who had conquered the holy city in the First Crusade) had prompted them to expel the company of dyers whom the other found there. At Tiberias, Benjamin says that there were no more than fifty; and the only things at that time remarkable in this former seat of rabbinical erudition were its excellent waters and hot baths. In other cities of Syria and Palestine equally small numbers of Jews were to be found. Samaritans occupied Sichem or Naplous, and intermarried only among themselves.

The same traveller tells marvellous stories of what he saw in Egypt. He states that there were no fewer than thirty thousand Jews in a city called Kouts, the situation of which is not known. It has been objected to him, as a strong ground for suspecting the authenticity of his narrative, that he makes no mention of Maimonides, who is said to have been then in high favor at the Egyptian court, as the sultan's physician. But we know not the exact period at which that illustrious rabbi retired thither; and it is probable that it was after the time of the traveller's arrival.

In the territories of the Byzantine empire, Benjamin found but few of his brethren. Even in the vast city of Constantinople there were only two thousand, chiefly silk-weavers and merchants. Besides these, there were five hundred Karaites, who were separated from their countrymen by a high wall, so jealous were they of the vicinity of those whom they abhorred as heretics. Although the emperor's physician was a Jew, and did all he could to protect those of his own nation, he was unable to prevent the insults daily

offered to them by the superstitious and fanatical Greeks They were not allowed to reside within the city ; and if they entered it on any occasion, they were liable to be attacked by the mob, who beat them, pelted them with filth of all kinds, and testified, by every means in their power, the utmost contempt and abhorrence for the forlorn descendants of Abraham.

But the ill treatment experienced by them at Constantinople was trifling, when compared with the atrocities which disgraced many countries of Europe in this dark period of history. Kings and princes seemed to vie with one another in the desire of distinguishing themselves by the most horrible persecution of the unhappy Israelites ; and they who professed to be ministers of the Gospel of peace and love, instead of endeavoring to mitigate the ferocity of the laity, exulted in it, praising it as an indisputable mark of religious principle. Amidst the miserable delusions which abounded in that age of ignorance, none was more common or more fatal than the belief, that the expression of hatred against the enemies of Christianity was a certain evidence of being actuated by its spirit. It was this which in a great measure prompted the fanatical follies of the Crusades ; for men believed that the slaying of the Saracens in the open field, or even in cold blood, would establish their title to rank among the noblest ornaments of the church. Besides, those who wanted the valor or the opportunity to distinguish themselves by warring for the recovery of the Holy Land, could acquire the same kind of reputation, in scarcely an inferior degree, by persecuting the unresisting Hebrews who dwelt every where among them.

Italy was, for the most part, distinguished by an honorable exception to this atrocious spirit ; and her annals at that period afford few examples of those persecutions which disgraced nearly all the other states of Europe. But we should pay too high a compliment to the Italians of the middle ages, did we suppose that this absence of persecution arose from any clearer perception of the genuine spirit of the Gospel than was manifested by other nations.

The true cause, probably, was the insignificance of the few Israelites who inhabited the country; for although the city of Genoa was a place remarkable for commerce and wealth, Benjamin of Tudela found there only twenty Hebrews. Although the Italian Jews doubtless possessed all the industry and love of gain which characterized their brethren in other lands, they had to compete with men as active and indefatigable as themselves, in the merchants of the various republics which shed such a lustre upon the history of this period. The Lombards had already engaged in the practice of usury which formed one of the chief sources of wealth to the Jews. At that epoch legal interest rose so high as twenty or twenty-five per cent.; and in secret, even more exhorbitant sums were exacted by those who knew how to profit by the necessities of their debtors. As the Christians thus supplanted them in those lucrative employments, which drew down upon the Jews the jealousy and avarice of other states, the descendants of Abraham were constrained to betake themselves to humbler occupations; but though thus kept poor, they in general enjoyed complete security.

One of the most singular circumstances which occur in the history of these times, is recorded by the monkish biographer of St. Nilus the Calabrian. A Hebrew merchant, when returning from a journey, had been assassinated by a young man, whose motive is not recorded; and the murderer being seized, was delivered up to the Jews of the town, who announced their intention of putting him to death by crucifixion. But Nilus, being informed of the circumstances of the case, opposed the execution of the sentence, affirming that it was illegal, because the life of a Christian was valued by the law as equivalent to that of seven Israelites. We are told that the accusers acquiesced in this statement, and desisted from their intention to put the criminal to death. There are many better things recorded of Nilus, than this enforcement of a law which did so little honor to either party.*

* Depping, p. 151.

In Italy, as well as elsewhere, the professors of Judaism were occasionally exposed to violent ebullitions of popular fury. Thus, at Chieti, there was a custom of administering justice to them every year at Easter, and, in return for this privilege, they paid a certain sum to the revenues of the state. On one occasion they were assembled as usual for this purpose, when a new convert, who was indebted to one of them, began to quarrel with his creditor, and affirmed that, three years before, he and some other Jews had made a waxen image to represent our Savior, and had vented their hatred by piercing it through in every direction. The mob immediately seized the accused, maltreated them, and pulled down their synagogue. But at Rome, the centre of papal power, they were by no means treated with that cruelty and oppression which we might have supposed. There, as in Venice, Ferrara, Salermo, and some other Italian cities, they inhabited a separate quarter; but this might be as much a measure of protection as of invidious distinction. At one time, the Roman Jews were in possession of considerable wealth, derived either from their pursuit of banking or from an extensive commerce with the East, whence they brought spices of various kinds, silks, cotton stuffs, and similar commodities. But these branches of industry were afterwards engrossed by the enterprising inhabitants of Venice and Genoa. From the year 1119 to the present time, the Jews at Rome have practised a singular custom, which some may regard as a privilege, while others may consider it as an insult. At the accession of every pope, they approach his presence, and offer him a copy of the law. The pontiff accepts their homage, and has a set reply ready for them. According to the rubric, it is as follows: — "I reverence the law, which you have received from God by Moses; but I condemn your explanations of it, because you wait for the Messiah, which the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church believes to be Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Ghost!"*

* Basnage, book vii. chap. x. p. 634.

When Benjamin of Tudela visited that capital, he found there two hundred of his people; who, as he informs us, enjoyed the privilege of being exempted from tribute. A rabbi, Jehiel by name, was treasurer to the pope, and it was probably through his protection that they enjoyed this favor. Although the Italian Jews were at this time by no means remarkable for learning, there were some distinguished rabbis among those who dwelt in the metropolis; of whom may be mentioned Nathan ben Zakiel, who was the head of the synagogue in that city, and died in 1106. He drew up a dictionary of the words contained in the Talmud, in the Targum, or ancient Chaldean translation of the Old Testament, aud the Midsachim, or allegorical commentary. This work, the result of immense labor, was entitled by him Aruch or arrangement, and was one of the first books printed by the Jews, when, as we shall afterwards see, they established various printing-presses throughout Italy.

Passing from thence to France, a much more gloomy scene meets our view. Here they were subjected to the most atrocious persecution, as their wealth excited a desire of plundering them, which their peaceful habits rendered it safe to gratify. Princes, nobles, clergy and people, alike testified by persecution their hatred of the unfortunate Israelites. But before we enter upon the sad story of their misfortunes, we may say a few words about the distinguished men who shed a lustre over the south of France, and almost enabled it to rival in rabbinical reputation the land of Aben Ezra and Maimonides. The synagogues in that district were numerous and flourishing. That of Narbonne, which was the most renowned, was, from its antiquity and authority, denominated "the mistress of the law." Its chief rabbi received, at least from his countrymen, the title of king; and it was even alleged that this appellation had been given him by Charlemagne, to whose court the Narbonnese synagogue had sent a deputation.

The most distinguished of the French rabbis were the family of the Kimchi, who flourished at the establishment just described. Joseph, (one of their number,) wrote a

commentary on part of the Old Testament, compiled a Hebrew grammar, and composed hymns for the use of the synagogues, but none of his works have ever been published, though several copies of them are to be found in the greater libraries of Europe. His son Moses, also a learned man, wrote a grammar, entitled Mahalak Scevile Addaath, or An Introduction to the Paths of Knowledge, which has been several times given to the public in a printed form. But both these rabbis were far surpassed in science and reputation by David, the second son of the former, who has been styled by the Jews "The Prince of Grammarians." It was he who was despatched by their community to obtain the verdict of their Spanish brethren with regard to the orthodoxy of Maimonides. He found no opposition to the opinions of that great man from any of the rabbis, except Ben Joseph Alfakar, the head of the synagogue at Toledo, a person remarkable for eminence in medicine, and a bitter enemy to the author whose opinions were submitted to his judgment. The dexterous management of Kimchi at length brought over this obstinate opponent; and the rabbis gave that unanimous approbation of the dogmas of Maimonides which confounded his violent antagonists at Montpelier. The same David distinguished himself at once as a theologian and a philologist. His chief works are his grammar, his lexicon of the Hebrew language, and his commentaries upon various portions of the Old Testament.* The treatise on the Psalms has been especially esteemed both by Jews and Christians, and is found translated into several of the languages of Europe. His father was a bitter enemy to the church, but he himself speaks of believers with greater moderation.

An equally celebrated name is that of Solomon, the son of Isaac; better known by the patronymic Jarchi, Zarchi, or Raschi. He was born at Troyes in Champagne, about the year 1105, and belonged to a family which had already

* His exposition of the prophet Zachariah has lately been translated and published by the Rev. Dr. M'Call, formerly a missionary to the Jews, and one of the best Hebrew scholars in Britain.

produced some eminent men. From his childhood he distinguished himself by his thirst for knowledge. He studied under the learned teachers of Southern France, especially Moses Hadarshan of Narbonne, surnamed "the Preacher," from the excellence of his discourses; and Zerachia, called "the Spaniard," from the place of his birth, but at that time likewise established at Narbonne. In a few years he made himself master of the various commentaries and theological works of the different rabbinical schools; and, not content with these acquirements, he paid great attention to the study of philosophy, which he learned from the work of the principal Greek writers, probably through the medium of Arabic versions. At the age of thirty he had composed a commentary on the Bible and the Talmud. Resolving then to visit the Jewish communities in the East, he passed through Italy, Greece, Palestine and Egypt; where he for some time remained as a pupil of Maimonides, who having conceived a very high idea of his abilities, treated him with great kindness. He next repaired to Persia, whence he returned homewards; and after having traversed the intermediate countries, he arrived at Prague in Bohemia. Here he was welcomed as a man whose fame was diffused throughout the world; but the pleasure of the Jews at his arrival was soon turned into mourning. The Christian inhabitants of the city alleged that Jarchi was another Bar-cochab, a pretender to the sacred title of the Messiah; and that he was enthusiastically received by his brethren in that capacity. Uladislas, the Duke of Bohemia, was by no means favorably disposed towards the Israelites, and this false report roused all the evil passions of his nature against them. He caused the stranger to be arrested, and brought before him for examination; having as his assessors the bishop of Olmutz, and a favorite of his own, named Narzerad, who being much in debt to the Jews, endeavored to avoid payment by instigating his sovereign to the expulsion or massacre of his creditors. He wished to begin with Jarchi, as the most celebrated of their number, and as already much hated by the

duke, an account of that report, which he maliciously took every opportunity of confirming. While Uladislas had such a counsellor, the prisoner was likely to meet with little mercy ; and he was about to be put to the torture, when the bishop fixing his eyes on him, recognized in his person the physician who had saved his life when in the holy land upon a pilgrimage, and attacked by a most dangerous disease. He immediately related the story to his sovereign, who was now somewhat ashamed of the suspicions he had entertained of the learned rabbi, and ordered him to be set at liberty. But the populace, upon seeing him arrested, concluding that their ruler would tolerate, at least, if he did not approve, any violence of which they might be guilty towards the Jews, had already begun to attack the quarter of the city where they lived. The tumultuary shouts reached the ducal palace ; and Jarchi, falling on his knees, earnestly besought his highness to extend protection to his unfortunate brethren. The prince at once complied with his request, and granted to him an edict of safety ; in virtue of which, he had the inexpressible pleasure of delivering his friends from the ferocious multitude, who but for this interposition, might have massacred them on the spot. Uladislas, after this, bestowed several marks of his favor on the traveller ; but this learned expositor is said to have been murdered soon afterwards at the instigation of Narzerad, who took advantage of an accidental absence of the duke to effect his atrocious design. Another account states that he left Prague, and died long after at Treves. One of the most celebrated of his works is the commentary on the Pentateuch, which is much esteemed, and was among the first Hebrew books published after the invention of printing. He had a grandson, named Jacob Tham, who wrote several theological pieces, particularly one entitled, " The Book of the Just ;" but his reputation was very much inferior to that of his grandfather.*

* Basnage, book vii. chap. viii. p. 630. Depping, p. 109—120. Beugnot, pp. 88—91, 113—116.

We turn from these details to the less grateful task of recording the sufferings to which the unhappy Israelites were subjected in France. The most horrid stories were told and believed, of their poisoning the fountains, stealing young children in order to crucify them, and treating indecently the sacramental elements, which they contrived, in one way or another, to purloin from the churches. Such rumors excited the lower classes against them; and they who, from birth or station, ought to have discountenanced and repressed their outrages, too frequently encouraged, or at least connived at them. The Jews were especial objects of hatred and insult during the ceremonies of the Easter week; for, with the lamentably erroneous spirit of the times, the misguided multitude thought that they were doing a service to the Redeemer, whose sufferings they then commemorated, by persecuting the descendants of those who had nailed him to the cross. Thus, at Beziers, every year on Palm Sunday, the bishop mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, and addressed the people to the following effect:—"You have among you, my brethren, the descendants of the impious wretches who crucified the Lord Jesus Christ, whose passion we are soon to commemorate. Show yourselves animated with the spirit of your ancestors; arm yourselves with stones, assail the Jews with them, and thus, as far as in you lies, revenge the sufferings of that Savior who redeemed you with his own blood." He then gave his blessing to the multitude, already well enough inclined to obey his injunctions, and they immediately rushed with the utmost fury against the houses of the Israelites, to attack them in the manner which the prelate had enjoined. The Jews, on the other hand, were allowed to defend themselves with the same missiles which their Christian fellow-citizens employed against them; and hence the city was kept in a constant state of disturbance by the contest between the two parties, until Easter day, when the riotous proceedings must necessarily cease. Many persons were usually killed or wounded on both sides. This shameful custom was at length prohibited by Raymond, viscount of Beziers, in

1160, who engaged to protect the Jews from such insults, upon the payment of an annual tribute.

The periods of the several crusades were very fatal to the same people. Those who were actuated by the superstitious and fanatical spirit which then prevailed, could not be expected to listen to the voice of reason or humanity, which might have stayed their hand from persecution. A number of persons who had assembled at Rouen for the purpose of joining in the first expedition, bethought themselves of a massacre of the Jews, as a proper means of beginning to imbrue their hands in infidel blood. "We are going," said they, "to march towards the East in order to avenge the cause of God upon his enemies, but we are leaving behind as a race of people as hateful in His sight as any of the unbelieving Saracens. Let us commence our holy work by putting them to the sword." Both in France and in the north of Germany, the most horrid cruelties were practised upon them by the fanatics who joined in this crusade. To save themselves from falling into the hands of their enraged enemies, many of the Jews murdered their wives and children, and then slew themselves; while others made a profession of Christianity, and submitted to baptism, as the only method of saving their lives. At Spires, they were fortunate enough to gain the protection of the bishop, who defended them from injury. A contemporary historian, who could find no other way of explaining the conduct of the prelate, which he deemed most unchristian, supposes that he must have been bribed by the Israelites to exercise a simple act of humanity towards them! We may remark, that the monkish annalists, with scarcely a single exception, record these disgraceful deeds as innocent at least, if not praiseworthy, thus showing that they were not superior to the spirit of their age.

When, half a century later, preparations were made for the Second Crusade, equal atrocities were perpetrated in the same countries; a fanatical monk, named Rodolph, having excited the people against the Jews. His exhortations were attended with success, and torrents of blood were

offered up in impious sacrifice to the God of mercy. It is to the honor of St. Bernard, himself a great supporter of this enterprise, that he wrote to the bishops of Franconia and Bavaria, requesting them to put an end to those barbarities, and even repaired in person to Germany, to use his influence with Rodolph to stay these horrible proceedings. He was met with heavy complaints of the usury and rapacity of the sufferers; but while he condemned those acts of extortion, he added that he knew of many Christians who rivalled them in their nefarious practices. Peter, of Cluni, surnamed the Venerable, the friend of Abelard, and a man, generally speaking, of a mild and amiable character, was also opposed to the massacreing of the Jews, but thought it perfectly allowable to despoil them of the wealth which they had acquired by fraudulent means. He even recommended this spoliation in a letter addressed to Louis VII. of France, who happily had too much sense or principle to comply with his injunction, and allowed the accused to remain unmolested during his reign. For this wise policy he is censured by a contemporary annalist, who adds, that it was the only fault with which he could be reproached throughout his long life. Posterity will probably be unanimous in thinking, that the countenance given by the French monarch to the Second Crusade, in which he himself joined, is a far greater blot on his memory than the protection which he afforded to his Hebrew subjects.

At the beginning of the reign of Philip Augustus, the son of Louis VII., in the year 1180, the Jews throughout France were in a very prosperous condition, being the richest class of people in the kingdom. A great number of persons of all orders were indebted to them, and the enormous usury which they exacted for their loans excited the hatred of their debtors. The ear of the king was beset with complaints of their extortion, their sacrilegious receiving of church plate in pledge, and the atrocities which they practised in secret. They were accused at one time of killing all the swine in a province by their enchantments, and at another of putting a man to death with all the insults

to which our Savior had been subjected before his crucifixion. On hearing of this latter circumstance, Philip hastened to the spot where it was said to have happened; seized all the Jews who resided there, to the number of above eighty; and without listening to any thing which the miserable beings could say in their defence, ordered them to be burnt alive. His treatment of the Israelites in other parts of his dominions was less horrible, but equally unjust. In 1181 1811, he confiscated all their unmoveable property, ordered them to dispose of their goods, and to leave the kingdom within a very limited period. He extinguished all debts due to them, with the exception of a fifth part, which he commanded to be paid to himself. Many of the barons and bishops, from motives of self-interest, endeavored to dissuade his majesty from carrying his edict into effect; but in vain, for the fanaticism of the inferior clergy and the populace united with the avarice of Philip to frustrate their efforts. Except in the southern parts of the kingdom, where the sovereign had less power than elsewhere, the decree was rigorously enforced. A monkish historian observes, that the year marked by these events ought to be regarded as a jubilee, because the Christians in France recovered their liberty, of which they had every where been despoiled by their Hebrew creditors.

Yet, some years afterwards, the Jews were permitted by the same king to return into his realm. The hope of profit induced them once more to settle in a country where they had lately experienced such barbarous treatment; and the necessities of the monarch probably made it convenient for him to have so industrious a body of subjects within his power, whom he might cause to contribute to his treasury either by an annual tribute, or by less regular extortions. They were, no doubt, in some degree constrained to abandon various branches of trade, by the clamors raised against their conduct in the prosecution of them. If they sold milk, they were accused of imposing on the buyers that of their wives; if they were butchers, the people said that they reserved all the best parts of the meat for those of their

own religion, and sold only the refuse to the Christians; if they cultivated the grape, as they did in Burgundy, their wine was alleged to be execrably bad,—and the clergy had very great scruples about using in the administration of the Lord's Supper, a liquor prepared by infidel hands. Being thus shut out from other methods of subsistence, they betook themselves almost exclusively to usury; and by the exaction of an enormous rate of interest, occasioned a general exasperation against them. In order to prevent the injustice to which debtors were frequently subjected by their craft, Philip Augustus, in 1206, enacted that the legal interest should be only two derniers upon the livre weekly, which, however, would amount to upwards of forty per cent. per annum. Even this proved insufficient to satisfy the cupidity of the Jews, and they accordingly endeavored to evade the law, by obliging their debtors to engage to pay them the legal interest for a larger sum than was actually borrowed. This practice became so common as to call forth another enactment on the part of the same monarch, strictly forbidding it, and requiring that no creditor should demand, and no debtor promise, on any pretext, a higher rate than what had previously been fixed by the law. The king began to derive a considerable portion of his revenue from the sums levied on these money-changers, for the liberty of residing within his dominions, and practising their gainful profession. If he had listened to the request of his clergy, he would not have suffered them to dwell within his realm: for he had the utmost difficulty in preventing the excommunication of those who entered into their service, or even trafficked with them. Pope Innocent the Third likewise wrote to Philip, remonstrating with him on the excessive favor which he showed to this unbelieving nation. Some years after, the same pontiff again addressed his majesty,* requesting that those who were about to engage in the crusade against the Albigenses should be freed from all obligation to pay the

* Basnage, book vii. chap. x. p. 637. Depping, p. 127—141. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 84—90, sec. part, p. 160—164.

interest of their debts, and only be required to refund the capital when they should find it convenient.

Louis VIII., the son and successor of Philip, by a sweeping act of injustice, prohibited all interest in future upon debts owing to Jews; and declared null and void all agreements between debtor and creditor which were dated more than five years back. Other borrowers were bound to pay the capital within three years, at three instalments each year.

In 1226, this monarch was succeeded by his son Louis IX., commonly known by the name of Saint Louis, one of the most upright of men, but unhappily a slave to the superstition which darkened his age. He had the utmost aversion to the Israelites, as the enemies of Christ, and as the practisers of usury, which he conscientiously believed to be unlawful; sentiments which induced him in various ways to harass and persecute them. At one time he forbade them to practise usury at all, and gave orders that they should apply themselves to other employments. Pope Gregory IX. had issued a bull, prohibiting any person from reading the Talmud, as an impious book, and authorizing the burning of all copies of it which could be found. Louis zealously supported the pontiff in this decree, and four-and-twenty cart-loads of rabbinical volumes were committed to the flames at Paris. His majesty, on one occasion, remitted a third of all debts due to Jews; on another, before his departure to the Holy Land on a crusade, he banished some of them from the kingdom, and confiscated their property. He showed the greatest kindness to converts from Judaism, maintaining them at his own expense, and, when they died, granting pensions to their widows and children. In his reign the populace rose against the hated tribes at various times, and insulted them in Paris, Orleans, and other places. The councils held in various parts of France testified by their decrees a deep abhorrence of the Israelites; they even went the length of forbidding Christians to have any pecuniary transactions with them, upon pain of excommunication. One council prohibited all recourse to Hebrew physicians,

thinking probably that they performed their cures by means of communication with evil spirits, or by other unlawful arts.

During the reign of Philip the Hardy, who ascended in 1271, this unfortunate people were not exposed to any sanguinary persecution; but he renewed the statutes of his predecessors against them, and added some vexatious restrictions, such as prohibiting them from possessing more than one synagogue and cemetary in each diocese, and enjoining them to abstain from certain meats during Lent. Philip the Fair at first seemed somewhat more favorable, and protected them against the Inquisition. But being of a violent character, and besides greatly in need of money, he ordered them all, in 1306, to leave the kingdom, and confiscated their property. This expulsion is considered by their descendants as one of the heaviest calamities that ever afflicted their nation. Only a very few could elude the avarice of the tyrant, by intrusting their effects to such Christians as felt themselves bound in honor to fulfil their engagements even to unbelievers. Some contrived to find their way back secretly into the kingdom; but a second edict five years later again obliged them to depart. Louis X., the son and successor of Philip, gave them permission to return, yielding, as his ordinance says, to the general desires of his people, who, with all their hatred to the Jews, found them so useful in pecuniary transactions, that they solicited their recall. The king, however, made them pay dearly for this indulgence; for, while he ordered all their debtors to fulfil their engagements, he appropriated two thirds of the sums to himself, leaving only one third to the rightful creditors. The next sovereign, Philip the Long, was favorable to them, and bestowed some privileges upon their body; but in his reign, nevertheless, they were the victims of popular fanaticism. In 1320, a great multitude of shepherds and peasants, headed by a priest, traversed France from one extremity to the other, with some vague intention, (as it is asserted) of setting out on a crusade to the Holy Land. At all events, they showed themselves actuated by the fiercest spirit of

hostility against the unhappy Israelites, whom they plundered and massacred. At Verdun the latter for some time defended themselves desperately in a castle; and when the assailants, setting fire to the gates, forced their way in, they found the defenders all lying dead, for, rather than fall into the power of such ferocious enemies, they had laid violent hands on themselves. Even the pope was unable to protect them at Avignon; his anathemas were disregarded, and the shepherds continued to pursue their seditious course, until they were finally checked by the ravages of disease, as well as by the troops which the government was obliged to send against them. A Jewish author assures us that one hundred and twenty communities of his brethren in the south of France were destroyed by these fanatical miscreants. In the following year a pestilence broke out, and a report was spread that it was occasioned by the same proscribed people, who had bribed the lepers to poison the fountains and rivers. Absurd as this rumor was, it was readily believed, and some of these last were put to the torture, who in their agonies confessed the crime imputed to them. This acknowledgment was the signal for a horrible persecution. Many were burnt alive, by which cruel mode of punishment it is said that at Chinon alone one hundred and sixty persons perished. The king, forgetting his previous moderation, availed himself of the general odium to confiscate their property, by which he acquired a large treasure. His successor, Charles the Fair, after exacting a considerable sum from the survivors, allowed them to leave the kingdom;* which, probably, they were anxious to do, in order to escape the danger of such sufferings as they had lately endured.

During the reigns of the two next kings, Philip the Sixth and John, France was subjected to the greatest calamities by the invasion of Edward III. of England, who laid claim to the throne. At the battle of Poictiers, in 1356, John was made prisoner by the Black Prince, and detained in captivity

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xviii. p. 672—675. Depping, pp. 185—194, 222—230, 245—253. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 90—110.

several years; during which period the affairs of the realm were managed by his son Charles, whose prudent administration gained him the surname of the Wise. The Jews made a treaty with him through the medium of Manasseh or Menociar de Vesou, a banker, who had advanced money to the dauphin in his necessities,—a compact which was ratified by the king after his return from captivity. They were to be allowed to remain in the country twenty years; in return for which indulgence they engaged to pay, at their entrance, fourteen florins for each man and his wife, one florin two tournois for each child and servant, besides an annual tribute of seven florins for each man and woman, and one florin for each child and servant. By making these payments they were to be exempted from all other taxation; to obtain perfect freedom to pursue any course of industry; to be exempted from baronial jurisdiction; and only to be under the control of an officer, styled the guardian of the Jews, appointed by the king himself. The first person nominated to this important function was the Count d' Etampes, a prince of the blood. The rate of interest was fixed at four deniers the livre weekly, which was double the amount permitted by Philip Augustus; and they might receive anything in pledge, except the vessels of the church and laborers' tools. The treaty contained various other articles, all of them equally favorable to the Jews, who seemed thus at length to be amply indemnified for their many sufferings and insults. Their season of prosperity, however, was short, for towards the end of the reign of Charles the Wise, they were attacked in Paris by the populace, who slew some of them, pillaged the rest, and obliged many of the women to give up their infants to be baptized. Aubriot, the provost of the city, a wise and enlightened man, to whom the French metropolis is indebted for several of its finest buildings, obtained an edict from the king, which obliged the rioters to restore the children they had taken away, and return the goods which they had stolen. Not long after, this upright magistrate was accused by the university, with which he had a dispute, of a secret leaning

towards Judaism; and through the influence of the archbishop of Paris he was condemned to imprisonment. Such, in the fourteenth century, was the reward of a simple act of justice, exerted in behalf of the despised and calumniated Israelites!

In the earlier part of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the Jews succeeded in obtaining from that feeble sovereign several privileges, which proved very oppressive to their debtors. Untaught by their previous misfortunes, they continued to exact, with the utmost rigor, the enormous rate of usury which was allowed, and thereby once more excited the popular fury against them. Their wise counsellor, Manasseh of Vesou, was dead; and his family enjoyed the same consideration at court which he had received, though this proved of little advantage to them, for his son Joseph became a Christian. Another rich Israelite, Denis Machanet, as he is called by a contemporary writer, had also been converted; and the efforts which his brethren made to bring him back to the ancient ritual, proved the means of their ruin. A report spread through the city of Paris that the new proselyte had been assassinated by the unbelievers; and as the inhabitants loudly demanded the punishment of the criminals, the provost, a very different person from his predecessor Aubriot, seized seven of the principal Hebrews, and ordered them to be burnt alive. The Parliament commuted this sentence into banishment and confiscation. The clamors occasioned by this false accusation had such an influence on the court, that shortly after, in the year 1394, Charles commanded all the Jews in his dominions to leave them; alleging, as his reason, that the expectations of their good conduct as subjects, which had induced his father to grant, and himself to continue, so many privileges, had been entirely disappointed,* as they had shown themselves,

* Some months after the departure of the Jews, a hundred Hebrew manuscripts were found in a house in Paris. They had probably belonged to the synagogue, and were carried to the library in Louvre. This is almost the only proof which we have that the Jews in the north of France devoted themselves at all to literature.

on every occasion, the oppressors of all who adhered to the true faith. The Jews were not allowed to re-enter the kingdom till the period of the Revolution.*

France was not then by any means so extensive as it now is, not having attained its present limits till some centuries later. At the period of the expulsion of the Israelites by Charles the Sixth, many of the fugitives took refuge in the dominions of the Count of Provence, where their brethren had long enjoyed the most liberal toleration. The Jews of that district had devoted themselves much more to commerce than to usury, carrying on an extensive and lucrative traffic with the East, whence they brought spices and stuffs of various kinds. Many of them likewise practised the healing art with great success, and some of them were employed in the service of the court. In particular, Peter Nostrodamus, who became greatly renowned for his medical skill, was appointed physician to Count Rene, by whom the refugees were treated with great indulgence. Peter, however, renounced Judaism for the religion of the Gospel. Although Rene was personally favorable to the Israelites, it was during his reign that one of them, Astorgo of Leon, was condemned to a terrible punishment. It appears that this unfortunate man had been previously convicted of blasphemy ; and about forty years afterwards he was again accused of the same crime, and condemned to be burnt alive. The Count, a man of an amiable temper, was desirous of saving the life of his wretched subject, and sent to him some clergymen, for the purpose of convincing him of his errors. Their efforts, however, were ineffectual. The Jews offered him twenty thousand florins if he would spare Astorgo ; but he did not dare to prevent the execution of a sentence which was in unison with the sentiments of the Provençals, who had long murmured at the indulgence of their princes to the professors of Judaism. The miserable victim met his fate near the church of the Oratory at Aix ; and, to commemorate the

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xviii. p. 676. Depping, p. 279—314. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 122—133.

cruel sentence, a pillar was erected on the spot, of which the remains existed at the end of the eighteenth century.

About the year 1480, on the failure of the line of its ancient princes, Provence was incorporated with the kingdom of France. Several years afterwards, Louis XII., who was surnamed "The Father of his People," showed himself very unworthy of the title, by ordaining all the Jewish inhabitants of his new acquisition to leave it. They obeyed; and retired, some of them into the Levant, and others into the Contat d'Avignon, where they were protected by the authority of the pope. In this small district, from which they have never been expelled, they possessed several synagogues. Some rabbis of distinction have arisen from that quarter; among others, Joseph Mein, who was born at the close of the fifteenth century. His works are, the Annals of the Kings of France, a compilation of great succinctness; and a History of the French Conquests in the East. The latter piece was published at Venice, in 1554, and is very scarce. Another celebrated Jew of Avignon was Mordecai, who took the name of Philip d'Aquin, after his conversion to Christianity, and became professor of Hebrew at Paris. He published several books, of which the best known is a Hebrew Dictionary.*

In Spain, an "Age of Iron" did at length afflict the Israelites, though it had been long delayed by the wise policy of the kings of Castile and Arragon. The Moors were gradually driven from the north and centre of the country, and obliged to content themselves with the southern provinces. The Jews seem to have passed, with little regret, under the power of their new masters, from whom they long enjoyed many favors and indulgences. Occasionally they might be subjected to the oppression of some bigoted prelate or insensate mob, who thought that the insult and oppression heaped upon them evinced a right zeal for the true faith; but their sovereigns in general protected them from insult and injury. Learning still flourished among them;

* Depping, p. 319—340. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 133—136.

and Toledo especially was remarkable for the number of distinguished men, theologians, astronomers, mathematicians, and physicians, whom it produced. Alphonso X., king of Castile, surnamed the Wise, from his love and patronage of science, treated the learned Hebrews of that city with the usmost favor, but obliged them to renounce their religion. He directed his physician, Judah Morea, one of these converts, to draw up the famous astronomic tables, commonly called the Alphonsine ; and likewise enjoined upon him the task of translating various Arabian treatises into Castilian. Other proselytes were employed by this illustrious monarch to make versions from the works of Averroes, Avicenna, and such distinguished authors.

The successors of Alphonso had not the same taste for letters, but nevertheless they equally protected the Jews, who were frequently intrusted with the management of the finances of the kingdom. In this situation they acquitted themselves with much ability, and the revenue prospered greatly under their superintendence. Thus, during the minority of Alphonso XI., one of their body, by name Don Joseph, exercised the function of treasurer. When the king came of age, he for some time retained this person in office ; but he is said to have at last detected a considerable deficit in his accounts, or at least he pretended to have made such a discovery. He therefore dismissed the Israelite, and committed his finances to the management of Christians. But he was not long in finding out that he had made a change for the worse ; the revenue was ill collected, and he was frequently at a loss for money. Joseph was therefore recalled to the post from which he had been discarded, and the royal funds were once more in a flourishing state. His majesty was now so well satisfied of the superior ability of the Jews in the management of pecuniary affairs, that when in the Cortes of Madrid, in 1309, a powerful conspiracy was formed against Joseph, and a strong remonstrance was addressed to the king on the impropriety of retaining an Israelite in so influential a situation, he refused to part with him, and thus defeated the machinations of his enemies

At this time the Jews were allowed to exact interest to the amount of thirty-three and one third per cent.,—an exhorbitant rate, which could not fail to excite many murmurs among those who were obliged to pay it. Even during the period of their greatest prosperity, while the monarchs, aware of their excellence as subjects, looked on them with favor, they were regarded with jealousy and no small dislike by the Cortes, who seldom omitted an opportunity of endeavoring to thwart the wise policy of the sovereign. Nor was their own conduct so prudent as it should have been; for, conscious of their wealth and influence at court, they too frequently exhibited a haughty demeanor towards their adversaries, and thus still more exasperated the nobles against them. From the clergy they had no good will to expect, and probably in their case all efforts at conciliation must have been hopeless.

Peter the Cruel, who began his reign in 1350, was equally favorable to the Jews; and his protection of them was imputed to him as a crime by his natural brother, Henry of Trastamara, when he aspired to the crown. That prince obtained a body of French troops, commanded by the famous Bertrand de Guesclin, to support his pretensions; and these auxiliaries, when they entered Spain, proclaimed their resolution to exterminate the Israelites. In several places they fulfilled this atrocious determination, and massacred all who refused to submit to baptism. Influenced by gratitude to their royal protector, those of Burgos made a desperate resistance to Henry's troops; giving perhaps the only instance on record of such faithful attachment in the Hebrew subjects of a Christian sovereign. When, in the year 1369, Peter was murdered by his brother, his treasurer, Samuel Levi, shared the same fate. But however Henry might affect horror at the protection which his predecessor had extended towards the Jews, on his accession he found it convenient to continue their privileges, and even to defend them from the machinations of their numerous enemies. It was during the reign of one of these Castilian princes that a courtier said, in the hearing

of the queen, "For a long time, the church and the synagogue have stood almost close to one another; and both Christians and Jews have worshipped in peace, neither molesting nor obstructing the devotions of the other." The queen answered, "Well! may these two buildings continue thus in peaceful juxtaposition, until both fall to ruin from the progress of decay!" Happy would it have been for Europe, if all her monarchs had participated in the excellent spirit which dictated this truly liberal prayer!

During the reigns of the later princes of the Trastamara house, the Jews were less favorably treated. A sermon preached by a zealot in the cathedral of Segovia stirred up the populace against the Israelites; whence the fanatical contagion spread throughout a large portion of the peninsula, and even into Majorca and Sardinia. Many Hebrews perished, and many more were obliged to renounce their religion, in order to preserve their lives. These disgraceful scenes occurred in the time of Henry III., who, in 1406, left the crown to his infant son, John II. The influence of the clergy during the minority of the prince was evinced by the severe regulations passed by the Cortes at Valladolid in 1412, whereby the Jews were obliged, under severe penalties, to confine themselves to a particular quarter of the cities which they inhabited. They were forbidden to mingle freely with the adherents of the dominant faith, and were interdicted from exercising a variety of employments; for some of which, such as those of physician and farmer of the public revenues, they were unquestionably better qualified than their Christian neighbors.*

In the rival kingdom of Arragon, the Jews had never enjoyed such favor as was shown to them in Castile. They were not allowed to exact more than twenty per cent. of interest; various restrictions were from time to time imposed upon them; and yet, for a long period, they appear to have enjoyed considerable prosperity, to which their unre-

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xvi. p. 662; and chap. xvii. p. 666. Depping, p. 364—373.

mitted industry justly entitled them. The seaports of Catalonia, which formed part of the kingdom of Arragon, afforded great facilities for trade; and, during the latter portion of the middle ages, the natives sedulously devoted themselves to commercial pursuits. The Jews shared with their fellow-subjects in the benefits arising from a skilful use of their maritime position; except at Barcelona, which for a while became the rival of Venice and Genoa in the extent of its imports. The Barcelonese were exceedingly jealous of strangers, whatever might be their religion, and by various municipal enactments excluded them from all participation in those lucrative employments, the profits of which they themselves were eager to engross.

During the period of which we are now speaking, the literary exertions of the Spanish Israelites were by no means discontinued. The most celebrated author of the age was Jedaiah Happenini, who is better known by the name of Bedrasci. His residence was at Barcelona. Like most of the rabbis, he was a man of great application and various learning; but he was especially distinguished by a glowing imagination, and a style rich in striking expressions. His principal work, which has procured him the title of the Jewish Cicero, is the Bechinath Olam, or Appreciation of the World, which contains meditation on the vanity of earthly things, the nature and attributes of the Deity, the immensity of the universe, the celestial origin of the soul, and its union with a material frame. This book has been twice translated into French. The old version of Philip d'Aquin has been far surpassed in fidelity and elegance by that of Michael Berr, published at Metz in the beginning of the present century. Another work of Bedrasci, is his Miuchar Appeninim, or Collection of Pearls, where he has shown a degree of research for which the plan of his more eloquent work afforded no scope.* The Miuchar is much

* The reader may not be displeased to be presented with a few of these "orient pearls at random strung." "There is no needle's eye too narrow for two friends, but the whole extent of the world is not wide enough for two enemies. To visit friends rarely increases friendship. Knowledge

esteemed by the Jews, and consists of aphorisms gleaned from the Greek and Arabian philosophers. The Theillah Lascem, or Invocation of God, is a prayer in which every word begins with the Hebrew letter *mem*. Bedrasci, in this piece of misplaced ingenuity, followed the example of his father, who amused himself with composing a poem, of which every word commenced with *lamed*. The parent had, however, in the less sacred nature of the subject on which he wrote, an excuse for his solemn trifling, which his son wanted.

About the same time flourished Rabbi Don Santo, who, in the words of Dr. M'Crie, "makes the following modest and not inelegant apology for taking his place among the poets of the land which had given him birth:"

"The rose that blooms on thorny sprig,
Will not the less perfume the earth;
Good wine that leaves a creeping twig,
Is not the worse for humble birth.

"The hawk may be of noble kind,
That from a lowly eyry flew;
And precepts are not less refined,
Because they issue from a Jew." *

The clergy of Arragon were especially active in their endeavors to bring the Jews within the pale of the church.

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without wealth, is a foot without a shoe, and wealth without knowledge, is a shoe without a foot. You never eat honey which is not mingled with poison. A king had engraven on his ring the words, 'You are troublesome,—begone!' and every time that he was bored with any one, he shewed him the inscription. Never keep company with the idle or the tedious, for I have read in some medical author, that the presence of a bore is more dangerous than the quartan ague. A man is wise when he seeks wisdom, but a fool when he imagines he has found it. A fool makes no difference between a friend and an enemy. What is the most tormenting sickness? A bad neighbor."

* Depping, p. 354. Beugnot, trois. part, p. 168—183. M'Crie's Reformation in Spain, p. 57.

In order to facilitate the accomplishment of this object, Raymond de Permafort, a celebrated pulpit orator, prevailed upon the king to establish professorships of Hebrew in the universities. The monks vigorously applied themselves to the study of that language, and sought every opportunity of bringing their newly acquired knowledge to bear upon their controversies with the rabbis. These contests excited so much attention, that James the First of Arragon ordered a public disputation to take place in his presence at Barcelona, in 1263. Each party chose their most able polemic. The Christian champion was Father Paul Christiani, who during several years had distinguished himself by his zeal for the conversion of the Jews. His opponent was a celebrated rabbi named Moses. The court, the clergy, and a vast concourse of persons from every part of the kingdom, were present at this conference, which was conducted on both sides with consummate ability and erudition; though, as usual on such occasions, neither of the disputants would allow that he was worsted. Two years afterwards, Christiani had a similar debate with another rabbi, but with as little effect. The king, incited by the pressing remonstrances of the pope, now banished the advocate of Judaism from his dominions; and sent his opponent into all the principal towns to hold conferences with the Jews, and endeavor to bring them over to the religion of the Gospel. He was likewise enjoined to order them every where to bring their books to him, that he might see if there was any thing hostile to the New Testament in them. They were obliged to comply with this command; and he, with the assistance of some zealous monks, tore out all the passages in the rabbinical volumes which seemed in any degree to militate against the true faith. The Jews complained of this harsh usage to his majesty, who ordered them to bring all their treatises to Barcelona, that they might there be carefully examined by competent authority. Their compliance with this injunction was only partial, and they secreted a great number of the most valuable tomes, fearing that the clergy would prove as unscrupulous inquisitors as Christiani and his associates

Their fears were not groundless, for the Barcelonese ecclesiastics destroyed or mutilated every volume in which there was any thing hostile to the religion of Jesus. The obnoxious passages thus examined and detected, became of great service to Raymond Martin, a Dominican monk, well versed in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Chaldee; who soon after published a work against Judaism, under the title of "The Dagger of the Faith." This book consists of extracts from the Hebrew writers, showing the opposition of their doctrines to those of the Gospel; the quotations are accompanied with critical, and often very severe remarks. Raymond has, however, been accused by Jewish authors of great incompetence or unfairness, in his choice of citations from the rabbis; and they represent his book as giving by no means an accurate idea either of their tenets or the feelings which they cherish towards Christians.*

One of the most remarkable events which occur in the history of the Jews in Spain, is the disputation which was held at Tortosa in the beginning of the fifteenth century. This meeting took place in presence of the anti-pope, Peter de Luna, who had assumed the name of Benedict XIII., who had not ever been acknowledged by the larger part of the Christian world, and found adherents only in the province of Arragonia in Spain, and was desirous to convert the Spanish Jews to Christianity; perhaps less from religious zeal than from a wish to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards. An opportunity for this was given him by his physician, a baptized Jew, (Joshua Lorka,) and called after his conversion, Mstr. Hieronymus *de sanata fide*. This person endeavored to set a trap for his former brethren, perhaps as much from a desire to exhibit his not inconsiderable Talmudic learning, as from the evil disposition of making unhappy the lives of Arragonian rabbis whom he hated, and also to show his zeal for his new faith. The latter motive has been imputed to him in a letter of R

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xv. p. 660—662. Depping, p. 379—383 Mosheim, cent. xiii.

Abun Astrue to the Jewish community at Spain.* "Noble Israelites," it says, "honorable men of Jehudah, whose houses and walls are surrounded by godly virtues; who have erected their thrones of law, of revelation and tradition, send Greeting: Know then, that even now, as you have experienced in former days, our Redeemer, who has delivered us from the scourge of misery, does neither slumber nor sleep. A branch, gone out from us, thought to destroy us, and bow the law of truth to the earth. Joshua Lorka conceived the idea of annihilating us, in order to show that he was a true Christian, and endeavored to promulgate his new faith," &c. He attempted to prove, in a convention of Israelite rabbis, from the Talmud, the arrival of the Messiah. Hieronymus was associated, by order of the Pope, with a few Christian clergymen skilled in Hebrew learning; and now a convention of delegates of the communites in Spain, was appointed on the 1st January, 1413.† This Jewish-Christian convocation was attended by R. Serachjah Halevy, Don Vidal ben Benbenasti, and thirteen others. They chose Don Vidal for their speaker, as well on account of his distinguished learning, as his knowledge of the Latin language; they agreed among themselves, in this convention, that they would not contradict one another, and distinguish themselves after the manner of the Jewish academies, by sharp disputations; that they would answer Lorka, as well as the cardinals, with modesty and mild language; and that nothing should move or dissuade them from adhering to this resolution, not even harsh and scornful language. Previous to the meeting of the first convention, they went together to the pope's, and implored him in touching language that he would regard them with indulgence. Benedict received them in a very gracious manner, inquired of each person his place of abode, observed that they might speak their minds freely and openly, and that no person should be held responsible for so doing. The convention was opened on the 2d January. Naiv describes to

* Sch. J. S. lib. 1, § 40. † 5th Tebeth, 5173.

Abun Astrue the impression which the splendor of the halls, the seventy golden chairs, upon which sat cardinals, archbishops and bishops, the number of nobles and learned men, made upon the rabbis who assembled there. "When we saw such things," he writes "our hearts melted like water; but still we exclaimed all at once, 'Be thou praised, King of the world, whose flesh and blood is endowed with so much excellence!'"

The pope addressed them as follows: — "I have not come hither, and not called you here to ascertain which faith is the more true; for I know that my belief is orthodox, and that your law is also true; and ye are not called upon to relinquish it. But since Master Hieronymus has taken upon himself to prove to you from the Talmud of your rabbis, who knew more than you, that the Messiah has already arrived, it is only upon this point that you have to answer."

Hieronymus manifested his good will immediately. Being requested by the pope to commence the dispute, he addressed the Jews in the following language of Isaiah: — "Come, now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword." With winning words, and in fine Latin, Don Vidal appealed to the pope, who was surprised at the language of Hieronymus; he declared that such a beginning would not tend to the conversion of any one, and that it was improper for persons desirous of converting and instructing erring persons, to hold a sword over their heads. "O Lord, show us thy mercy," exclaimed he with the Psalmist, "and lend us thine aid. Thou hast not called us here to pour down upon us grievous words; but to dispute only upon talmudic topics." Upon this, the pope and cardinals censured Hieronymus, and reminded him that such a course was not a Christian one. "Consider," exclaimed Benedict, "he is one of your own brethren." But Don Vidal observed, that such language was never listened to by the rabbis. It was perceived that the convention did not go on harmoniously, and they separated. The rabbis were accompanied to their homes with appropriate honors, where, by order of the

pope, their wants were cared for according to the prescriptions of Jewish law. "We wish," writes Abunstruel, "that the end had been like the beginning. We met at the synagogue, where we fervently prayed to the Rock of our salvation, in the presence of a large assembly, that he would illumine our minds, and that no stumbling-block might arise from our language. Then R. Serachjah Halevy arose, with an humble spirit and contrite heart, before a large concourse of people, and, stationed in a tent, preached from the Talmud, closing his discourse with a fervent prayer." With each return of the conventions that were held a few hours every day, from the winter of 1413 until the spring of 1414, the poor oppressed rabbis felt more uneasy than ever. As early as the third day, when Hieronymus commenced his exposition of a Messian passage of the Talmud, it required all the eloquence that Vidal was master of, to convince the assembly of the signification of this passage. But I do not wish to fatigue my readers with a full report of the doings of this convention, which did not lead to any definite result. The pope won the respect and affection of the rabbis, by his courteous deportment towards them. It was when they expressed themselves too freely, that the pope sunk his dignity in his anger; but was soon restored when Vidal modestly reminded him of his promise. Hieronymus, with calm but deep hatred, opposed the rabbis, made every attempt to remain victor, and often became very angry. After the dissolution of the convention, they were dismissed with appropriate honors. Soon after, Pope Benedict was deposed at the thirty-second session of the council at Costnilz, and declared a perjured heretic; and, although Martin V. manifested milder feelings towards the Jews, yet many hundreds of them who were respectable and wealthy, were thrown into prison, and forced to a denial of their faith. At this time, Albo wrote his celebrated work, entitled "Jacarim," or "Of the Leading Principles of the Mosaic Religion," the object of which was to uphold the wavering Jews who were persecuted on account of their belief. Don Vidal wrote the celebrated work, entitled "The Holy of Holies,"

(*Kondesh Kedashim*,) in which he stamped the most hallowed feelings of his great heart. But, alas! the condition of the Jews changed for the worse. Bishop Vincentius Ferrarius, a Dominican, being incited by a blind zeal, attempted to effect the conversion of the Jews by fire and sword. This bishop, who was held in great respect by the pope, the king, and the nobles of the realm, left no means untried to bring them into the bosom of the church. It is the same Vincentius who was placed by the Pope Calintus among the number of saints. "At this time," observes a Jewish chronicler, "the decline of the Jews in Spain was very great; for Vincentius from Valencia was bent upon their destruction. He incited its inhabitants against them, and they rose up to kill them; many were killed with the sword, burned with fire; many were led by fear to embrace Christianity, and the books of the holy law were consigned to the flames. Those who were forced to embrace Christianity, it is true, attended the churches, and to all appearance were converts; but in their hearts and their homes remained Jews, circumcised their sons, secretly instructed them in their own religious faith, celebrated the passover and the remaining feasts, and were called Enussim, (from *anas*, to force. Esther i. 8; and Targumin.) It is said that a number of such (Enussim) exist at the present time.

The heresy of this sect of Enussim became the occasion of the most horrible cruelties, which reached their height in the reign of Ferdinand and Pope Sixtus IV. The inquisition was instituted in order to keep a watchful eye upon those heretics; magistrates of the city were required to assist in the bloody judgment, in order to proceed with the utmost rigor against the heretics. Two thousand of them were burned alive; seventeen thousand were compelled to do penance, whilst the by-standers mocked and scorned them; others were confined a long time, afterwards released, spurned, and their garments were marked. Even the dead were not spared, and the corpses taken from the graves were burned, and their property confiscated. As such

cruelties became more universal, most of the Jews made attempts to fly their country; but being prevented, they were obliged either to remain or to escape in some secret manner. Every public evil was heaped on their heads. In Toledo, the nobles had laid a tax on the citizens, and they charged the Jews with being the occasion of it. The houses of the unfortunate ones were stormed, large and small were murdered, and even infants were not spared. After the storm had abated, the magistrates and nobles were urged by the people to pass the severest laws against the baptized Jews and Moors. Their most horrible sufferings commenced in March, 1492. Queen Isabella, as well as Minister de Torre, had, before the commencement of the war with the Moors in Granada, extorted a vow from Ferdinand that, in the event of a fortunate termination of the war, he would banish the Jews from the country, or force them to embrace Christianity. The war was ended, the Moors were completely vanquished, and in the month above-mentioned a royal decree was passed, that within the period of four months the Jews should leave the country. Even this short term was soon afterwards abridged by de Torre, for every inhabitant was forbidden, under heavy penalties, to shelter a Jew, or to sell them provisions after the first of April. An historian narrates that they were prohibited from carrying with them their money and ornaments; but this is improbable, and many no doubt saved their ornaments, although others left their homes in want and poverty. At the close of April the onset commenced. Eight hundred thousand souls, men, women, children, aged men and the sick were not favored with a moment's peace.* Many were intercepted and forced to remain, and those that stayed behind were either condemned to death, or sold as slaves, or converted.

Don Isaac Abarbanel presents a very affecting picture of their misery to those noble and learned sages who were among the number of the banished. "When that edict was

* Sch. J. b. 2, § 50.

passed, I betook myself to the royal palace, and repeatedly implored the king for mercy ; but alas ! in vain did I proffer him all our treasures in order to be permitted to remain in our native country. He became angry. In vain did I go to my former friends, the lords and grandees ; but none could help—the queen had urged the king to the deed. A wailing broke out in all the assemblies of the Jews, when the decree was announced ; and there arose a lamentation, the like of which has not been heard since the Israelites departed from their native land and arrived on a foreign shore. Yet they spake one to another : Let us be strong—we will seal the law and faith with our lives ; though we die, we will not go back nor break the covenant of our fathers, but wander in the name of the Lord our God. Thus they went in hundreds of thousands, and I among them, from all the provinces of the kingdom. They went whither their spirit led them, and the Lord of Lords guided them—one said, I belong to the Lord ; another one ascribed his strength to the Highest. Many went to Portugal, many to the southern coast, and every where was anguish and darkness, tribulation and ruin, hunger and sickness. Alas ! the hand of the Lord was heavy upon us ! " Shall I terrify the imagination of my reader with a sad picture? Shall I enter into the detail of it? No! It requires but little imagination to conceive of the misery in its full extent! But in order to give a complete idea of the fanaticism and bigotry of that age and country, and to inspire our brethren with gratitude and exultation towards that God who has healed the wounds, and given us better and more cheerful homes, we will not yet drop the curtain of this dreadful drama.

Among those who reached the sea coast, were many who were unable to pay their passage, and were retained as slaves. Two ships, filled with these unfortunate Jews, were unable to set sail, on account of their heavy burthen, before the termination of the respite, and were obliged to remain behind and land the slaves. Still greater was the suffering upon the open sea. Fire issued from the ships, and they were burned upon the ocean—some of them sunk

because their burthen was too great—some of the unfortunates were wrecked in one place, and some in another, and finally died of hunger. In other ships an epidemic broke out; the sailors put the sick and those who were well, indiscriminately, upon dreary cliffs and islands. One of the captains, in a frenzy, ordered all the Jews on board of his ship to be put to death; but by the interposition of a Christian merchant he was induced to desist from such a cruel deed. Still the captain forced them to take off their garments, and placed them in their nakedness upon a cliff, from which many plunged into the foaming billows, others almost perished for want of food, and were taken in by a merchant vessel and carried to one of the charitable societies in Italy.* Others were shipwrecked at Fetz, on the north of Africa. There was a famine here, and they would not permit the unwelcome guests to enter the city. They therefore made tents in the fields, and subsisted on such roots and herbs as the soil would yield. Many died, but were not interred, because the surviving ones were too weak to bury them. Notwithstanding, they gathered roots on Friday, in order to observe the Sabbath in all its strictness. Besides, they were oppressed by the inhabitants, and now and then their daughters and wives were ravished before the eyes of their parents, and were afterwards killed. The children who lodged here were enticed on board of a ship, under the promise of food; the ship weighed anchor whilst their mothers stood on the shore, wringing their hands in despair, and the little ones were sold as slaves in Barbary.† A countless multitude of the banished arrived at Rome in July, 1493, and were received by Pope Alexander VI. with the greatest kindness, although he had a short time before bestowed on Ferdinand, on account of his religious zeal, the title of "Catholic King." According to the testimony of Christian historians, thirty thousand people died upon the ocean.§ The Spaniards, not being satisfied with the suffer-

* Sch. I. § 58. † Sch. 53, 54, ff.

§ Tome Naucler. chron. vol ii. p. 1110. Col. 1075.

ings of those who were banished, branded them also, so that they might be distinguished as those who first introduced into Europe the syphilistic disease, an effect of the dissolute habits of the age. That this charge was a result of bigotry, has been shown satisfactorily. These exiled Jews were called *Marannen*, (Spanish hogs,) which epithet the Spaniards gave to the sect of Enussim, but latterly they themselves received the same sobriquet.

These were the consequences of Ferdinand's and Isabella's fanaticism; these the effects of the doings of the Inquisition, and of selfish, slothful monks. They did not consider, as did many noble and discreet Spaniards, that the country would be deprived of a multitude of industrious and useful inhabitants, and the dangers which might arise should the Moors, Jews and Enussims combine in an insurrection, were it not, as Abarbanel observes, that the Jewish law obliges them to obey even the commands of the most cruel of monarchs. That they were not deficient in courage, is proved by the circumstance that many wandered to Turkey, where they served in the army as artillery-men.

Ferdinand and Isabella were, in the main, wise and sagacious sovereigns; their joint reign is regarded by native authors as the most prosperous era of the country which they governed; but the expulsion of the Jews was as impolitic as it was inhuman. It is almost the only blot on the memory of the queen, who is usually deemed one of the purest characters that ever filled a throne, and is termed by Lord Bacon "an honor to her sex," as well as "the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain." She was, however, with all her virtues, a slave to Romish bigotry; and was induced to consent to this deed of darkness, because the priests, by whom she was surrounded, assured her that it was sinful to admit any other creed within her dominions than that inculcated by the infallible church. Her husband was a selfish, crafty prince, who never scrupled to commit any crime that seemed to be for his interest; but in this instance he completely overreached himself. So evidently unwise was the step, that the Sultan Bajazet exclaimed on hearing of it,

"Do they call this Ferdinand a politic prince, who can thus impoverish his own kingdom, and enrich ours?" *

We have said that many of the unfortunate Israelites, when expelled from Spain, took refuge in Portugal; and though in that country they never enjoyed the favor which, for a time, they had possessed in the other, their condition was by no means severe, having acquired the privilege of naming judges of their own nation in every town, who took cognizance of civil matters; criminal cases alone being referred to the jurisdiction of the Christian tribunals. These Hebrew lawyers were subject to the control of superior officers of their own nation, of whom there were seven, one for each of the principal towns in the seven provinces of the kingdom; and these, in their turn, were superintended by the great rabbi, resident at Lisbon, who was appointed by his majesty, and took care that the inferior judges should administer justice impartially. His decisions could only be reversed by the sovereign himself. The Portuguese Jews devoting themselves to commerce and literature, became distinguished both as merchants and authors. In the fifteenth century several rabbis of great reputation proceeded from the academy of Lisbon, which promised, in course of time, to rival even the schools of Seville and Toledo, so justly celebrated in a former age. Some of the most renowned scholars who adorned this institution were, David Jachia, who was deeply versed in grammar, poetry, philosophy, and theology; Isaac Avuhaf, who died in 1493, author of the Menoraas Hammor, or Lamp of Light, in which he taught that the sayings of the wise men were to be received as the words of God; and Moses ben Thabiba, a Talmudist of vast learning, whose work on grammar, entitled Arcenoam, has been printed at Venice. There were also several Jewish physicians of great

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxi. p. 692. Depping, p. 426—434. Prescott, vol. ii. p. 220—240. An instance of the fond attachment of the Jews to Spain is afforded by the fact, that even in the seventeenth century, those settled in Germany used to visit that country for the purpose of procuring for the feast of tabernacles branches of the citron tree, under the shade of which their forefathers had so often reposed.

skill and reputation; two of whom, Joseph and Rodrigo, were employed by John II. to draw up astronomical tables for the use of the ships employed in his African expeditions. The Israelites in the peninsula were distinguished for the beauty and correctness of their handwriting, and copies of the sacred books written by them were much sought after by their brethren in other countries. Some of these manuscripts, which have escaped the ravages of time and bigotry, are now preserved in the greater libraries throughout Europe. When the art of printing was invented, the Portuguese Jews availed themselves of it, and published several of the works of their best authors. These books were well executed on good paper, and are considered very creditable specimens of the typography of the fifteen century. The most highly valued of the writings which proceeded from the Hebrew press at Lisbon, is a beautiful edition of the Pentateuch, with the Chaldean paraphrase of Onkelos, and the commentary of Solomon Jarchi. This book, which appeared in two quarto volumes, was carefully printed after the most ancient and correct manuscripts; so that, besides being highly esteemed among the Jews, it has served as the model of several subsequent editions. It has now become very rare, but there is a copy in the Royal Library at Paris. From the same press came forth, in 1492, with nearly equal elegance, the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, having annexed the commentary of David Kimchi; from which, however, all the passages that could give offence to Christians were carefully removed.

History mentions particularly the names of Abraham de Beza and Joseph Zapatero, who discovered several islands, and returned laden with great treasures.* Although the Jews expected that King Don Juan (John) would favor them on that account, in which, however, they were disappointed, and those Jews who subsequently arrived did not meet with a very friendly reception, perhaps because the great number of them placed the government in an embar-

* Car. doso Sas. Excellencies, p. 358.

rassing situation, or that he feared to incur the displeasure of the Spanish government, who were glad to see the Jews wander to Barbary or Italy, but not to neighboring Portugal. And why should Don Juan be more exempt from bigotry or fanaticism, so prevalent in his time, than Ferdinand and Isabella? It is sufficient, that he did not make the settlement of the Jews very comfortable. An entrance was permitted them, on the condition that they paid a poll-tax of eight gold pieces ; the settlement was limited to eight months, with the understanding that every Jew who might chance to remain in the country after the lapse of eight months, should either become a Christian or be sold as a slave. Nevertheless, their limited term was welcome to the unfortunate Jews. They had adequate time for transportation, to recruit themselves and settle their affairs ; besides this, experience had taught them the value of time and the changes of their fate.

King John died after having suffered great bodily distress and a long siege of sickness.

The next king, Manuel, began his reign by restoring liberty to the unfortunate emigrants, and from him they might have all entertained hopes of protection and favor ; but unfortunately, having married a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he imbibed the sentiments of the royal house with which he had allied himself. Scarcely four years had elapsed since the Jews were expelled from Spain, when, in 1496, Manuel issued an edict to the same effect, banishing them also from his dominions. He even outstripped the other sovereigns in their merciless bigotry ; for he ordered that all children under fourteen years of age should be torn from their parents, in order to be brought up in the Christian faith. We are told by Samuel Usque, a rabbinical writer, that many of his wretched countrymen, on hearing the cruel terms of this decree, killed themselves in despair ; and this is confirmed by Osorio, the Portuguese historian, who adds, that the conduct of the king was indeed unjust, but that the holiness of his intentions sanctioned the means by which he sought to attain them ; thus giving an example

how thoroughly the Romish doctrine blinds the moral perceptions of those who acquiesce in its dogmas.*

Many of the Portuguese Jews chose to abjure their religion, rather than leave their children and their country; while others, who had resolved to emigrate, destroyed their offspring with their own hands, in order that they might not be educated in that faith which its professed votaries had caused them to abhor. The converts endeavored to protect themselves against persecution, by stipulating with the government that the Inquisition should not be established in Portugal for the space of twenty years; and that, even if it should at the expiration of that period be introduced, the accused might have the power of becoming acquainted beforehand with the names of the witnesses against them; and that, in the case of condemnation, the property of the sufferer should not be taken from his family. These stipulations too evidently show the insincerity of their conversion, and the danger in which they knew that it might eventually involve them. Those who preferred banishment to apostacy were treated in various places with the utmost harshness. At Lisbon the populace plundered their houses, dishonored their wives and daughters, and even put many of them to death. We are told, by certain authors, that the monks were the instigators of these atrocities; and even encouraged the multitude to commit them, by promising indulgences to every one who should kill an Israelite. Such as were fortunate enough to depart in safety from the kingdom found a shelter either in Italy or at Constantinople; where though they, like believers themselves, have always been despised by the Turks, they escaped those dreadful persecutions

* In Southey's Letters from Spain and Portugal, this remarkable testimony is borne respecting them: — "Till within the last fifty years, the burning of a Jew formed the highest delight of the Portuguese; they thronged to behold this triumph of the faith, and the very women shouted with transport as they saw the agonized martyr writhe at the stake. Neither sex nor age could save this persecuted race; and Antonio Joseph de Silvia, the best of their dramatic writers, was burned alive because he was a Jew."

which have befallen them in countries professing the true religion.

The "new Christians," who remained in the kingdom, were looked upon with suspicion by the clergy and people. In 1506, one of them imprudently discovered an imposture which a monk was practising upon a crowd of admiring spectators, by holding up a crucifix to their view, and bidding them observe the light which streamed from it, a manifest appearance, as he intimated, of the Savior himself. The Jew, whose eyes were not blinded by superstition, saw a lamp behind the holy emblem, and made known his discovery in a taunting manner. The enraged multitude seized him, pulled him out of the church, and tore him to pieces. His brother, who stood lamenting his fate, was butchered merely for this expression of natural feeling. Nor was the mob contented with this demonstration of their bigoted zeal. Inflamed by the exhortations of two Dominican friars, they attacked and slew the new converts on all sides. Even the churches afforded no refuge to the wretched beings who fled thither; they were dragged from the sanctuaries, and put to death without mercy. The slaughter continued three days, during which we are assured that no fewer than two thousand of them perished;* while the magistrates, either through fear, or a secret approbation of these excesses, took no measures to prevent them. When Manuel was informed of the massacre, he professed the utmost abhorrence of the perpetrators, and gave orders for the execution of the two monks who had been the ringleaders of the mob. By degrees, the attachment of the Jewish converts to the Hebrew rites died away. The Inquisition was introduced into Portugal in 1536, for the purpose of watching over their conduct, as well as of stifling the incipient progress of the Reformation. Many families of the new Christians retired into France, and fixed their residence at Bordeaux and Bayonne, where they distinguished themselves by com-

* Traul. Histoire d' Espagne, tiree de Marranna, etc., Rotterdam, 1696 tom. iii. p. 132.

mercial enterprise and upright conduct; and, in consequence of these estimable qualities, obtained from Henry II., in 1550, letters patent, which entitled them to all the privileges of the realm. These immunities were confirmed by Henry III. in 1574, and he at the same time interdicted the annoyances to which they had been exposed from zealots, who declared that they practised in secret the rites which they dared not celebrate in public. It is worthy of remark, that in all the edicts issued in their favor, the name of Jew is carefully avoided, the term employed being that of Portuguese.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Persecutions of the Jews in Switzerland—They are protected by the Emperors—The Black Death—Horrible cruelties inflicted on the Jews at Strasburg—Persecutions in Brabant—Jews in England—William Rufus—Henry II.—Massacre of the Jews at York—Enactments made against Usury—The Jews first favored, and afterwards persecuted by John—Exactions of Henry III.—Expulsion by Edward I.—Between A. D. 1288 and A. D. 1394—1519.

If we turn from the south of Europe, towards the north, we shall find that in almost every country the Jews were more or less exposed to hardships and persecution. At Berne, in Switzerland, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the body of an infant was found with evident marks of having perished by a violent death; and immediately a cry was raised that they had perpetrated this atrocious crime. Some of them were seized, and put to the torture: writhing with agony, they confessed whatever their persecutors desired, and were in consequence broken on the

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxi. pp. 693, 694. Depping, p. 444—452. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 137—140.

wheel. Their brethren, who were obliged to flee from a city which had so unequivocally declared its hostility to them, complained to Rodolph, of Hapsburg, the liege lord of Berne, who espoused their cause, and ordered the authorities to receive them again peaceably. They refused, and, in consequence, he assembled a large force, in order to compel them to obedience; but he died before he could carry his design into effect. Long after his demise, the Bernese agreed to re-admit the Jews, upon condition of their paying one thousand marks to the city, and five hundred to the *bailli* or chief magistrate. Depping very justly observes, that the citizens ought rather to have paid a considerable sum to them, as an indemnification for the many injuries they had received. About the same time, the rulers of Lucerne, more wise than their neighbors, forbade their people to accuse the Israelites, or insult them in any manner.

The same fanatical spirit some time afterwards burst forth in various other cities of Switzerland, and menaced the unfortunate Hebrews with destruction. A man at Dissenhofen on the Rhine, having been found guilty of infanticide, asserted that one of them, named Michael, had offered him three florins for the blood of a Christian child. Immediately the fury of the populace burst forth; no inquiry was instituted into the truth of a story so suspicious from the character of the narrator, and the circumstances in which he promulgated it. The accused was condemned to the flames; and the murderer was broken on the wheel. The mania spread to other parts of the country. The people of Zurich, in particular, demanded the execution of the Jews, whose lives were with great difficulty preserved by the magistrates, and they were at last allowed to leave the city without molestation, upon paying one thousand five hundred florins. In the town of Schaffhausen and Winterthur thirty-eight perished at the stake; and their brethren sought a refuge in other regions from the fury of the bigoted mob.*

* Depping, pp. 220, 221.

We are informed by a monkish historian, that the Emperor Albert I. sent an embassy to Philip the Fair of France, demanding all the Jews in his kingdom as of right belonging to himself; being transmitted to him with the other privileges of the Roman emperors, whose representative he claimed to be. It is certain that he treated that people with far greater favor than his French contemporary, and vigorously repressed the tumults which were excited in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, when there arrived in those districts various bodies of emigrants, who took refuge from the tyranny of Philip. The German emperors considering them as more especially their property, granted only for considerable sums, to the great barons and principal cities the privilege of making laws with respect to them, and of imposing tribute upon them. Perceiving their unwearied industry, and the wealth which they were thereby enabled to acquire, the princes protected them against the bigotry of the clergy and populace, and encouraged them, by various enactments, to reside in their dominions. If, on the one hand, they were prevented from possessing land, or acquiring the right of citizenship, they were exempted, on the other, from the heavy taxes to which the burgesses were liable; and therefore, it is probable, deemed the invidious distinctions amply compensated by the practical advantage.

But no exertion of imperial or civic authority could always prevent the popular rage from breaking out, and marking its course by bloodshed and desolation. In the year 1290, the multitude rose against the Jews in the city of Prague; and from thence the torrent of fanaticism spread on all sides, until it had ravaged Bohemia, Moravia, and the neighboring parts of Germany. Every where the devoted unbelievers were dragged from their dwellings, and massacred in cold blood, while the infuriated mob gloated with savage delight over their expiring agonies. The authorities were either paralyzed by the suddenness and combination of the tumults, or secretly rejoiced that the hated race of Israel had suffered, without their being exposed to any

odium as the actual perpetrators. This was one of the most sanguinary persecutions to which the unfortunate descendants of Abraham have been subjected, for we are informed by contemporary historians that no fewer than ten thousand of them perished.

We have already mentioned that, when a pestilence broke out in France in the year 1321, the Jews were accused as the cause of it, and on that account exposed to grievous injuries. But a much more general and sanguinary persecution took place in 1348, when a terrible disease, known by the name of the *black death*, desolated a large portion of Europe. This plague, like the cholera of our own day, came from India, and after passing through Egypt, Syria, and Greece, invaded the nations of the West. It carried off an immense number of people, who generally died on the second or third day after they were attacked by the disease; and the imperfect state of the medical art at that time prevented any effectual remedy from being applied. Ignorant of the real causes of this tremendous visitation, the credulous multitude every where accused the Hebrews of poisoning the waters, and polluting the atmosphere by magical arts. In vain did the latter protest their innocence; in vain did they adduce the testimony of the most eminent physicians, who declared that the accusations were groundless and absurd; in vain did they point to the deaths among themselves, which proved that they possessed no control over an evil from which they suffered so severely; the mob would not listen to reason, and obstinately clung to their ridiculous prejudices. The sovereigns of the different countries, and the magistrates of the various cities, through which the pestilence passed, would willingly, if they could, have protected the Jews from the effects of the popular fury; but they found it in vain to attempt resistance to the fanaticism of so excited a period. Albert, duke of Austria, endeavoring to save them in his dominions from the exasperated populace, was not only unsuccessful in his efforts, but he was himself obliged to deliver three hundred of them to the flames at Kyburg. Nowhere was the treat-

ment they sustained more severe than at Strasburg. There the civic authorities had shown symptoms of a desire to protect them from their enemies, when the populace rose, and deposed their rulers, installing in their room others who consented to co-operate in their sanguinary schemes. The new magistrates caused several to be arrested and put to the torture, which wrung from them a confession that they were guilty of the imputed crime. No more being necessary to ensure their punishment, they were hurried away to the place of execution and broken on the wheel. Their brethren throughout the city were arrested and imprisoned. But the impatient multitude, refusing to wait until these miserable beings should be condemned by the forms of law, and desiring a more summary punishment, rushed to the prison, forced the doors, and dragged their trembling victims to an open space, suitable for the dreadful atrocity which they were about to commit. They next plundered the houses of the Jews, and collected from them, as well as from other quarters, a quantity of combustible materials. Upon this pile they placed the accused, without regard to age or sex, and after having set it on fire, they testified by the most savage shouts the pleasure afforded them by the sufferings of the wretched Hebrews. In the annals of Pagan or Popish persecution, there is not a deed that calls for louder indignation than this cold-blooded massacre of two thousand unoffending individuals, for such, according to the most authentic accounts, was the number who perished in the flames. From this time, till the period of the French revolution, Jews were not allowed to reside within the walls of the city : they might enter it during the daytime to transact business, but every evening at a fixed hour a horn was blown from the tower of the cathedral, as a signal for their departure. The spot where the terrible conflagration took place is now known by the name of Brand Strasse, or Fire Street.*

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* Basnage, book vii. chap. xx. p. 686. Depping, pp. 231, 232, 244, 263—267. It was probably to one of the sufferers in this dreadful calamity

In Brabant they were no less exposed to the fanatical fury of the populace. In 1326, a converted Israelite at Mons was accused of having aimed a blow at a representation of the Virgin, which was painted upon the abbey of Cambron; and the wall was alleged to have been covered with blood, doubtless of the wounded picture! The man was seized and put to the torture. Even the agony occasioned by this horrible punishment could not force from him any confession of guilt, and he was released. But an officious farrier, pretending to have in a dream received from Mary a commission to avenge her honor, challenged him to engage in single combat. He did not dare to decline, because such a refusal would have been construed into an acknowledgment of guilt, and accordingly the contest took place without the walls of Mons. The weapons of the combatants were cudgels, and an immense concourse of people crowded to witness the result. The Jew proved unequal in the fight to his sturdy antagonist, and was by a blow laid prostrate on the ground. The multitude cried out that this was a judgment of God, making manifest the guilt of the daring wretch, who had previously added reiterated falsehoods to his original crime. They hung him up by the feet, and kindled a fire under him, in which to scorch him slowly to death.

Nearly half a century after this horrible execution, a still more atrocious crime was committed by the mob of Brussels. There was a report spread throughout Brabant that the Jews had carried away from the principal church sixteen consecrated hosts, in order to pierce them with daggers and knives,—a practice of which they were often accused in the middle ages. The blood is said to have spouted from the mangled wafers, and an old woman denounced the perpetrators to a priest. Upon this there was a universal cry

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that a tombstone was erected at Strasburg, which was discovered in the last century, and bore an inscription in Hebrew, containing a prayer that the soul of the deceased might be received into the number of the just in the garden of Eden. The expectation of a future life was the only consolation to persons whose condition was so wretched in this.

of horror; and the elders of the synagogue of Enghien were put to the torture, in order to wring from them a confession of the crime. Three of them were reserved for a yet more horrible fate: their flesh being torn from their bodies with red-hot pincers, they were on the 22d May, 1370, burnt near the gate of Namur. One of these wretched men, named Jonathan, had acquired great wealth by his commercial speculations. The survivors were banished from Brabant, after being plundered of their effects, without any regard to their protestations of innocence; the fact of being Hebrews was held to be a sufficient proof of their guilt. But the fanatics of that period, not content with these demonstrations of their cruelty, had resolved that the knowledge of deeds, which they considered so glorious, should not be lost upon posterity. Eighteen pictures were painted for the church of St. Gudule at Brussels, in which were represented all the principal circumstances of the case, even to the execution of the three elders of the synagogue. Still more effectually to perpetuate the record of so noble a demonstration of zeal, a jubilee was instituted to take place every fifty years, in which the destruction of the Jews was to be celebrated by universal rejoicing. Such is still the fanatical spirit which prevails in the Netherlands, that at the last recurrence of this commemoration, (in 1820,) the people of Brussels engaged in it with a spirit truly worthy of the descendants of those murderers. The sixteen wounded hosts were carried in procession, contained in a casket adorned with precious stones; the houses were hung with tapestry, and the streets strewed with flowers; there were banquets, concerts, fireworks, a general illumination, and, in short, demonstrations of the most lively joy. Such is the spirit of popery, even in the nineteenth century; such is the profane mummery which in Romish countries passes for devotion!*

If, from the Low Countries, we direct our attention to England, we shall find small reason to congratulate ourselves

* Depping, pp. 275, 276.

upon the humanity of its inhabitants during the middle ages. In one respect the treatment of the Jews in this country was more disgraceful than in any other parts of Europe; for, while elsewhere, as in Spain and Germany, the sovereigns generally exerted themselves to repress the hostility of the clergy and people, the English kings, with hardly one exception, showed themselves as thoroughly imbued with the persecuting spirit as any of their subjects. It is not known at what period the Jews entered this island; but the first mention which is made of them is the time of the Saxon heptarchy. In the year 740, Egbricht, archbishop of York, forbade the Christians in his diocese to appear at Hebrew festivals. The laws of Edward the Confessor declare the Jews and their goods royal property; and hence no one could interfere with them except by permission of the king. These laws were confirmed by William the Conqueror, in the fourth year of his reign. His successor, William Rufus, treated them with indulgence. He appointed, probably in a fit of caprice, a disputation to be held in his presence at London, between their rabbis and some divines; having sworn that he would adhere to the faith of that party which should prove victorious in the contest. The Christian writers affirm that their champions completely silenced their opponents; but the other party allege that unfair methods were employed to browbeat the rabbis, and prevent them from making the best of their cause. However, no benefit seems to have resulted from this conference, for both parties remained in the same position; and William, though he continued a believer, did not withdraw his protection from the Jews. When he was afterwards at Rouen, they complained to him of the conduct of the monks, who had forcibly baptized some of their brethren. They requested that he would take measures to cause them to return to the faith of their fathers; and accompanied their petition by the offer of a large sum of money. Influenced by such reasons, Rufus not only listened favorably to their prayer, but promised to endeavor to win back the new converts. We are, however, told only of a single effort which he made in per-

son, and that was unsuccessful. Stephen, one of their body, had given him a considerable gift for the restoration of his son to the Hebrew faith; but the young man, when summoned into the royal presence, steadily maintained the religion, which, it would appear, had in his case been embraced with sincere conviction of its truth. The king pressed him hard, and even threatened him with the loss of his eyes if he continued obstinate. Undaunted by this menace, he replied that it was most unbecoming in a sovereign who professed the true faith to attempt to seduce any of his subjects into one which he must needs believe to be erroneous. William was struck with the boldness of the youth, and desisted from his attempt. Stephen now demanded back his money; but his majesty kept the half of it, as a compensation for the fruitless trouble which he had taken. He made the Jews farmers of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics,—a measure which gave deep offence to the clergy and people, who looked upon it as an act of sacrilegious impiety. In his reign also they were established in Oxford and London. In the former city they had three halls for the accommodation of students of their religion, and are said to have taught Hebrew to Christian as well as to Jewish scholars. Yet for a long time they were not allowed to have a burial-ground there; their only cemetery was at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the metropolis.*

We hear nothing further of the Jews till the reign of Stephen, when, in 1135 they were accused of having crucified a young man at Norwich. No persecution, however, is recorded to have followed this oft repeated charge. Henry II. granted them permission to have grave-yards in all the principal towns, in order to remedy the great inconvenience which resulted from their previously possessing only one burial place in the kingdom. But the enactments of that sovereign were not always favorable to them. At one period of his reign he gave them liberty to remain in his dominions, upon paying the sum of five thousand marks; but when he

* Depping, pp. 142—144.

was making preparations for a crusade, they were assessed at sixty thousand pounds, while the whole body of his Christian subjects were required to pay no more than seventy thousand pounds. This tax was not levied, on account of his death, which frustrated the expedition.

In the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, the Jews were subjected to a far more terrible persecution. Those resident in London had amassed great riches, so that, although, to avoid popular odium, their houses had a very plain exterior, they were furnished with all the comforts and luxuries that the age could supply. It was the report of this wealth which in a great measure exasperated the people against them, and proved the cause of their ruin. At the coronation of Richard, which was celebrated with great magnificence, they had intended to be present, and to testify their loyalty by the splendor of their gifts to the sovereign. But they were forbidden to approach Westminster Abbey on that joyful day, chiefly, it is said, through the hostility of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who alleged that they might practise magical arts against the life of the king. Such as were resident on the spot, obeyed, but some of their brethren from the country were resolved not to lose their trouble and expense in coming to see the spectacle ; and accordingly ventured into the church, trusting that the circumstance of their being strangers would secure them from detection. They were mistaken. The officers in attendance discovered them, beat them soundly with their staves, and dragged them from the Abbey, half dead with pain and terror. The news spread through the city ; and the mob, ever ready to commit outrages upon the detested Israelites, forced their way into their houses, and plundered them of the great treasures which they contained. The king, indignant at this outbreak of popular turbulence, ordered an investigation into the circumstances ; several of the ringleaders were apprehended, and three executed ; but such was the excited state of public feeling, that they were condemned, not for their violent assault upon the unoffending Jews, but for injuries inflicted upon others during the confusion of the riot. Two

of them had robbed a man, pretending that they mistook him for an Israelite ; the third had set fire to the house of a Jew, and the flames had reached to the next, which belonged to a Christian. Such was the fanaticism of the times, that a contemporary historian, writing in his cloister, coolly returns thanks to God for having delivered the unbelievers into the hands of the faithful!

When these were the sentiments deliberately professed in the seats of learning, we need not wonder that throughout the kingdom there was a general persecution of the wretched Hebrews. Preparations were making for that crusade which Richard afterwards conducted to the Holy Land ; and to the hatred which always existed in the hearts of the people, was thereby added the fury of military fanaticism. Before making war upon the Saracens abroad, the crusaders took an opportunity of testifying their zeal against the Israelites in their own country ; and at Norwich, Stamford, and St. Edmondsbury, they were plundered and massacred. But the most dreadful catastrophe which disgraced that fanatical time, occurred at York. There was a rich individual of that place, by name, Benedict, who, to save his life in the tumult at London, submitted to baptism, but was afterwards permitted by the king to return to Judaism. He died shortly after, from the effects of the ill-treatment which he had received. The news of his apostacy having reached his native city, the populace rushed to his house, plundered it, and murdered his wife and children, with some other persons who had taken refuge there from their fury. The rest of the Jews, anticipating the same fate for themselves, took possession of the castle, whither they conveyed their most valuable effects. The governor at the time happened to be in the city ; on his return, he found the gates closed against him, and the Israelites, rendered desperate by their circumstances, determined to stand a siege. Indignant at being thus excluded from his own fortress, he applied to the sheriff of the county for assistance to enable him to recover it. That functionary lent him a body of troops, but afterwards repented of his rashness, when he saw the rage of the popu-

lace. and heard their savage threats of indiscriminate massacre. He endeavored to recall the soldiers, but in vain; and the clergy stirred up the besiegers to a most vigorous assault, crying out, "Destroy the enemies of Christ!"

One canon regular, of the Premonstratensian order, peculiarly distinguished himself by his exhortations, until he was struck dead by a huge stone thrown from the ramparts. At last the besieged found that they could no longer maintain their defence, and called a council to deliberate upon the course they ought to follow. They knew that they could expect no mercy from their assailants, who, previously too much disposed to treat them with cruelty, were now exasperated to the utmost pitch of fury, by the obstinacy of the resistance which had been made. They therefore listened the more willingly to the advice of their rabbi, a foreigner, and deeply versed in the law; who, in a most pathetic speech, counselled them to put an end to their lives, rather than tamely surrender the castle and submit to the insults and tortures which the ferocious multitude without were ready to inflict upon them. They buried their gold and silver, burnt their other effects, slew their wives and children, and then fell by their own hands. When the besiegers next morning renewed the assault, they beheld the castle in flames, and saw a few wretched creatures who had refused to join their brethren in their suicide, running to and fro upon the battlements, trembling lest they should perish in the conflagration which their more daring associates had occasioned. In the agony of their terror, they offered instantly to open the gates, and to submit to baptism. The terms were accepted, and the mob rushed in, but shamelessly violating the compact which they had just made, put to the sword every one whom they found alive. They then rushed to the cathedral, and demanded all the Jewish bonds and contracts which had been stored up there among the archives; and these they immediately threw into a large fire. Upon the death of the rightful owners, these debts would have fallen to the crown, and proved a rich source of revenue; whence it has been surmised that it was indignation at

the loss of this prize which incited Richard to order a strict investigation into the massacre at York. The governor and sheriff were deprived of their offices, but the ringleaders escaped to Scotland ; and it does not appear that any person suffered the just penalty of the law for an atrocious tumult, in which, according to the lowest computation, five hundred of the proscribed nation perished.

When the king returned from his captivity, he made several laws with respect to the Jews, and formally recognized them as belonging to the crown. In order to prevent any fraud on their part, he ordered that all bonds and obligations should be drawn up in the presence of two Jewish and two Christian lawyers, two public notaries, and two inspectors commissioned by the crown ; all deeds were to be enrolled, and a fee was to be paid to the royal treasury for every such enrollment. Two copies of each bond were to be made, one of which was to remain in the possession of the creditor, the other was to be deposited among the archives of the town where the deed was drawn up, in a chest secured by three padlocks, of one of which the key should be given to the Hebrew attornies. No deed was to be valid unless it were drawn up with all these formalities.*

Richard's successor, the weak and unprincipled John, at first showed himself very favorable to the Jews. He encouraged them to settle in his dominions, by granting a number of privileges which they had not previously enjoyed. They were allowed to dwell where they pleased, to hold lands and fees, and take mortgages. In disputes with others they were to be tried by their own peers ; and their oaths were held to be of equal weight with those of the Christians. They might freely buy and sell every thing, with the exception of the sacred vessels and other furniture belonging to the church ; while all the subjects of the realm were required to protect them and their effects, as the chattels of the king. For the charter which contained these and other favorable articles, they paid four thousand marks. Another statute

* Basnage, book vii. chap. x. p. 638. Depping, p. 141—149, 177, 178.

permitted them to have their suits determined by their own law. But the fickle tyrant did not long continue the protector of the unfortunate Israelites. It would almost appear as if he had granted them privileges for the purpose of inveigling them into his power, that he might plunder and oppress them at pleasure. In the year 1210, he caused those in his dominions to be seized, confiscating their wealth to the exchequer; and if they hesitated to give up their money, it was wrung from their reluctant grasp by the most cruel torments. An Israelite of Bristol, known to possess very great riches, was seized and carried off to one of the royal castles. He was then told that the king required ten thousand marks from him; he refused to comply with the demand, and was next informed that, in addition to the loss of liberty, he would be daily deprived of a tooth, till he chose to assent to the royal will. For a week he continued obstinate, but when about to lose the eighth he yielded, and obtained his liberation by paying the sum required. In this calamitous reign, the Jews were not only exposed to the capricious tyranny of the sovereign, but, as a part of the royal chattels, were plundered by the barons when they took up arms against the tyranny of John. Their treasures in London were seized, and their dwellings pulled down, in order that the materials might be employed in repairing the walls when the city was threatened with a siege by the exasperated king.

Upon the accession of Henry III. they were released from prison, and restored to some of their former privileges; but were required to wear two stripes of white cloth or parchment as a distinctive mark, upon their dress.* During his long reign, however, they were subjected to much annoyance and persecution, both from king and people. In

* "We find," says Mr Turner, "their chief priest presented to the king after his election, and the king assenting to the appointment; and to another, called the Bishop of the Jews, his sacerdotal dignity was, for three marks of gold, restored to him, of which, for certain transgressions, he had been deprived."

the year 1233, he established in London a sort of alms-house for the reception of converted Israelites, who lived there without being required to follow any trade, being supported by funds set apart from the royal treasury. A considerable number, it is said, were induced to abjure their religion, tempted by the prospect of maintenance without personal exertion. This "house of conversion," as it was called, was founded by Henry, as a means of delivering his father's soul from the flames of purgatory. But if, on this occasion, he expended a considerable sum upon the comforts of these Hebrew converts, or rather renegades, he took care to indemnify himself amply by the exhorbitant taxes which he levied upon their brethren. From his improvidence and prodigality, he was frequently in need of money, and he could far more easily extort the sums which he required from his Jewish than his Christian subjects. Accordingly, at one time he obliged the former to pay a third part of their whole property to his treasurer; two years after a second demand was made of eighteen thousand marks; and at the expiration of four years more, ten thousand were wrested from the oppressed race. Very large sums were extorted from rich individuals. Thus the daughter of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king five thousand marks, on condition of being exempted from taxes; and Aaron, a wealthy citizen of York, made a similar composition by advancing one hundred marks a year. Yet this stipulation does not seem to have protected him from extraordinary exactions; for he solemnly declared that his majesty had wrung from him in seven years no less than thirty thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of gold which were presented to the queen. Some time after, the curious spectacle was presented to the English people of a Jewish parliament, summoned in regular form. The sheriffs were ordered to return six of the richest Israelites from the larger towns and two from the smaller ones; and the house thus constituted was informed, on its assembling, that the sovereign, being greatly in want of money, required twenty thousand marks immediately to meet the demands on

his exchequer. This gracious intimation having been made, the sitting was dissolved, and the members sent home to procure the requisite sum with the utmost expedition. It appears that it was not levied soon enough to please the needy and impatient monarch, for he ordered the collectors to be seized, along with their wives and children, and thrown into prison, while their goods and chattels were forfeited to the crown.

So many demands were made upon this injured people by Henry, that it seems wonderful they should have ever had it in their power to accumulate riches; but the apparent mystery is explained by the exhorbitant rate of interest which they exacted from their debtors. At this time fifty per cent. was considered by no means an immoderate charge; and we are told that some Oxford students deemed themselves leniently dealt with, by being required to pay only two pence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings,—a rate which amounted to forty-three and one third per cent. per annum! In this reign, however, the Jews found very formidable rivals in the practice of usury. These were the Caorsini or Cahursins, a class of men who made themselves so odious by their exactions, that Dante, in his Inferno, has ranked them in wickedness along with the inhabitants of Sodom. The place from which they received their name has been generally supposed to be Cahors, in France; of which Benvenuto d'Imola, an Italian commentator on the poem just mentioned, remarks, that almost all its citizens devoted themselves to money-dealing. But French writers, conceiving that the honor of their country is at stake, have indignantly disclaimed the Caorsini, as aliens from their soil, and have pointed to the enactments of the thirteenth century, which distinctly declare them to have been foreigners. Depping supposes that they were originally from Piedmont, which is known to have been at that period remarkable for the number of bankers it sent forth into Dauphiny, Switzerland, and other neighboring districts, and thinks that their name was derived from the town of Caorsa or Cavonis, in that country. Be this as it may, it is certain

that the English Jews in the reign of Henry III. bitterly complained of these rivals ; and alleged the poverty thus occasioned as a sufficient reason for exempting them from the enormous contributions to his majesty's service, which they were continually called upon to make.

After thus, upon numerous occasions, extorting large sums from his Israelitish subjects, the king delegated his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to make a fresh demand. Through their chief rabbi, Elias, they made the most piteous representations of their poverty ; and the prince, more merciful than his royal brother, accepted a much smaller sum than he at first intended to exact. In the midst of these oppressions, a report was spread that the Jews of Lincoln had crucified a Christian child, called Hugh, because he had sung hymns in their quarter in honor of the Virgin. The body, being found in a ditch, into which it had been thrown after the murder, was conveyed to the cathedral and buried with great pomp. The unfortunate boy was canonized, and pilgrims came from all parts of the kingdom to pay their devotions at the shrine of the young martyr. It had been well for the sake of humanity, if even this mummery, despicable and profane as it was, had been all ; but the zeal of the times was not so easily satisfied. A number of Israelites were seized, and, after a mockery of a trial, put to death for a crime, of which prejudiced judges alone could deem them guilty.

The oppression on the part of the king did not secure the Jews from molestation by the barons, when they raised the standard of rebellion against their sovereign. They were accused of having sided with Henry, and thus proving themselves hostile to the liberties of England. Men, whose chief object was the peaceful accumulation of wealth, were not likely to take an interest in the disputes between the monarch and his nobles ; but the report was believed, and made the ground of spoliation after the battle of Lewes, in which he and his son were made prisoners by the insurgents. Nor did these sufferings for his sake render him, after his liberation, more favorable to them ; for one of the last acts of his reign was to disqualify them from possessing any tenements,

except those which they inhabited at the time. If these, indeed, became ruinous or inconvenient, they might pull them down, and build others on the old foundations. They were despoiled, besides, of all lands and manors, and such as they held by mortgage were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on the bonds. Henry likewise ordered the arrears of all charges to be instantly paid, threatening the defaulters with imprisonment. It is related, that such was the distress occasioned by this peremptory edict, that even their rival usurers, the Caorsini and the clergy, pitied the unhappy Israelites.*

During the reign of Henry the Third, much odium had been excited against them by accusations, probably not ill-founded, of their clipping and adulterating the coin of the realm. They seem to have continued the same odious and dangerous practice under Edward the First; for in one year no fewer than two hundred and eighty were executed in London for this offence. The king did not treat them more mercifully than his father had done, for one of his first acts was to impose a poll tax, which extended to women and children. Exile was the punishment of those who were unable or unwilling to pay the sum required, and whatever property they possessed was escheated to the crown. Shortly after, an act of parliament forbade all usury, and thus excluded the Jews from their chief means of acquiring wealth. Even all previous debts to them were to be cancelled, upon the payment of the principal, and no interest was allowed to be received. They were permitted to have recourse to other employments, such as merchandise, farming, and manual labor; but the profits of these occupations were only a poor compensation for the enormous gains which they had been accustomed to make by trade in bullion. Yet even these branches of industy they were not long permitted to pursue in peace; for in the year 1290, Edward issued orders that they should all depart from the realm. They

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xix. p. 677—680. Depping, p. 209—215. Turner's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 93, 94.

were allowed sufficient money to carry them into other countries; but the rest of their effects were declared forfeited. They were to be kindly treated until they quitted the shores of England; but this injunction of the king was not obeyed, and they were subjected to much insult and injury from the populace, always glad to vent their hatred upon them. The number of exiles is variously estimated from fifteen thousand to sixteen thousand five hundred. The libraries belonging to the synagogues, which were very rich in Hebrew manuscripts, were appropriated by the convents The most celebrated were those of Stamford and Oxford, the latter of which is stated to have afforded much information to the famous Roger Bacon; but this seems doubtful, for he died at a very advanced age, shortly after the expulsion of the Israelites. The edict now mentioned continued in force during nearly four centuries; and throughout this period, if any Jew visited England, or resided in it, he did so secretly, and at the hazard of his life.*

CHAPTER XV.

Jews in Naples—They are generally protected by the Popes—Council of Constance—Oppression of the Jews in the north of Italy—Establishment of the *Monte di Pieta*—Preachings of Bernardino Thomitano—The Jews favored at Florence—Jews of Leghorn—Adventures of Abarbanel—The Jews expelled from Naples—David and Solomon Molchu—Jews of Ferrara—The Venetian Government favors and protects the Jews—Jews at Genoa and Caffa.—From A. D. 1500 to A. D. 1800.

We may now revert to the condition of the Jews in Italy. The great number of states into which that country was divided, during the middle ages, prevented any general measures of persecution from being adopted against them·

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xix. p. 680. Depping, pp. 346, 347.

and hence, if through caprice or bigotry, they were oppressed in one district, they might easily retire to another, where they would be out of the reach of cruelty and injustice. One of the few cases of their suffering from popular violence, occurred in the thirteenth century at Naples, where no traces of them are found before the year 1200. In that kingdom they had a great number of synagogues, and many learned rabbis ; they had great influence at court, on account of the advances of money which they had made at different times ; but, although protected by the government and the nobility, they were objects of especial hatred to the populace, probably on account of their extortions. Taking advantage of the sovereign's death, the mob rose against them, massacred several, and compelled the rest to save themselves by adopting the outward profession of Christianity. We are told by Samuel Usque, a rabbinical author, that a king of Naples, having exhausted his treasures in war, was relieved in his hour of distress by the wealth of his Hebrew subjects. On his death-bed he charged his son and successor to pay his debt to them ; but the young prince was persuaded that the most pious as well as the most convenient method of obeying his father's injunctions, was to save their souls by obliging them to submit to baptism. The advice of the priestly counsellors was given in perfect accordance with the spirit of popery, which seeks, with all the proselytizing zeal of the Pharisees of old, for outward conformity to its ritual ; but has ever shown itself, in its *conversions* at home and abroad, little solicitous about a genuine change of the heart, and a sober conviction of the understanding.

In the states of the Church, the condition of the Jews depended upon the personal character of the pontiffs. Occasionally persecuted by a bigoted pope, they were more frequently protected by the occupants of the Holy See, from motives of policy or humanity. In the year 1247, Innocent IV., in order to put an end to the continual accusations against them, as murderers of Christian children, enacted, that every person who brought forward such a charge, without being able to support it by the evidence of three Israel-

ites and as many Christians, should himself suffer the penalty of the law as an assassin. It would have been well for the peace of society in the middle ages, if similar laws had been made in every state. Shortly after, the monastic order of the Minorites, who every where displayed great zeal for the interests of Romanism, endeavored, as a preliminary step to their conversion, to prevent the Jews from practising the rites and ceremonies of their faith. The latter claimed the protection of the Holy See, which was then filled by Nicholas III., a pontiff who, on this occasion, evinced a spirit of wise toleration. He issued a bull, in which he enjoined all Christians to allow their Hebrew brethren to enjoy in peace the privileges of which they were already possessed, forbade the molestation of them in any way, and denounced the penalty of ecclesiastical censure against all who should be found guilty of disobedience to his commands. This pope, however, was by no means indifferent to their conversion; for, in the same year, he allowed the provincial prior of the preachers of Lombardy to assemble the professors of Judaism whenever he judged proper, to address exhortations and discourses to them, and endeavor, by every fair means, to win them over to the true faith. Although this enactment was well meant, it could not fail to occasion much annoyance to the Jews; while it partially nullified the effects of the previous judicious edict, which the pontiff had issued against the intolerant proceedings of the Minorite friars. In the year 1363, Urban V., in similar circumstances, published a bull almost identical in terms with that of his predecessor, forbidding all forcible conversion and molestation.

The learning which many of the Italian rabbis possessed, rendered it necessary for the defenders of Christianity to acquire Hebrew, in order to be able to dispute advantageously with them. Pope Clement V., therefore, in 1320, ordered the institution of professorships for that language in the universities. A less honorable method of combatting Judaism was devised by John XXII., who commanded all copies of the Talmud to be burnt; but this edict appears to have been very ill obeyed. Rabbinical learning continued to

flourish, especially at Bologna, where there was an academy which produced many distinguished men; and some copies of the sacred writings, transcribed by the rabbis of this school, are still preserved in that city. There a rich family, called Hannanim, (which pretended to trace up its genealogy to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus,) founded a magnificent synagogue at the end of the fourteenth century. About the same period, the Jews of that place presented to the Dominican inquisitor, Emeric, a Bible, which they pretended to have been written by the hand of Ezra.*

The Council of Constance convened in the beginning of the fifteenth century. As previous ecclesiastical synods had shown themselves hostile to their nations, and as this assembly had evinced its bigotry by the murder of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the Jews of that town, trembling for their own safety, endeavored to conciliate the pope, Martin V., by doing homage to him, and presenting him with a copy of their law. Historians differ as to the manner in which this obeisance was received. Some assert that the pontiff disdainfully rejected their present, saying, "though you possess the law, you will not understand it aright." According to others, it was the emperor who taunted them with the words, "you have good and just institutions, indeed, but you do not observe them." Had the Jews dared, they might justly have reminded him, that he had no scruples in violating the law of God and man, by committing Huss to the flames, after granting him a safe conduct. The Jews were more fortunate than the two Protestant martyrs, whose condemnation has stamped infamy upon the proceedings of the council; for they were merely included in the bull of excommunication, which was issued against infidels, heretics and schismatics in general. The members also mitigated the oppression directed against those who, on embracing Christianity, were spoiled of their goods in order to indemnify the church for the loss it would sustain by being deprived of the

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xvii. p. 668—670. Depping, p. 459—468 Beugnot, prem. part, p. 156—161.

taxes which they had previously paid ; or, as the clergy of the times pretended, to induce them to give up the practice of usury, by taking away the riches acquired in that unlawful trade. Cardinal Dailly wished this absurd custom to be altogether abolished ; but the fathers of Constance would only agree to enact, that in future the converts should be required to part with no more than half of their goods, alleging that their regard for the revenues of the church would not permit them to go further.

Pope Eugenius IV., in 1442, issued a severe edict against the Jews. He forbade them to practise usury, to exercise any public employment, or to eat and drink with believers. He subjected them to the payment of tithes for all kinds of articles, and enjoined them to build no new synagogues, and not even to enlarge the old ones. Christians were prohibited from leaving them any legacies in their wills. About thirty years later, those of Trent were exposed to persecution from the popular fanaticism. Three of them were said to have murdered an infant, in the same manner as they were commonly reported to commit such crimes. Had there been any attention paid to justice in this matter, only the three ought to have been seized ; and, if found guilty, condemned. But this process was too slow and regular to satisfy an infuriated mob. All the Jews in the city were apprehended and thrown into prison, from which they were taken only to be subjected to torture or death. In the following year a similar charge was brought against those resident at Milan, and they also were imprisoned ; but the duke did not gratify the malice of his subjects by inflicting capital punishment, contenting himself with making them pay a sum of twenty thousand pieces of gold as the price of their liberty

There were other adversaries of the Jews who did not aim at their lives, but endeavored to put a stop in some measure to their excessive gains. These were the founders of the *Monte di Pieta*, Mounts of Piety. A Franciscan monk, named Barnabas, was induced, by the general complaints of the exorbitant usury exacted by the Israelites, to

contrive an institution which might, to some extent at least, remove the hardship of that oppressive rate. While preaching at Perugia, before Pius II., he first proposed the establishment of a bank, from which small sums should be supplied to the poor, on the deposit of pledges, and at a rate of interest so low as merely to defray the necessary expenses of the institution. Accordingly this bank was immediately organized, and afterwards received the sanction of the pope; it was denominated *monte di pieta*, because it was considered an act of piety to save poor Christians from the fraud and oppression of the enemies of the Gospel. A few years afterwards, the city of Mantua followed the example of Perugia, and established a similar institution, which was placed under the management of twelve directors, of whom four were to be clergymen, two nobles, two lawyers or physicians, two merchants, and two citizens of other professions. The ecclesiastics were members for life, the laymen were elected only for two years, and half of them went out annually. We are not so particularly informed as to the composition of the boards of management in other cities and towns; but it seems probable that the example of Mantua was so far followed as to give the clergy a considerable influence in the direction of these banks, which soon became very numerous throughout Italy.

However this might be, it is certain that the friars were most active in establishing the *monte di pieta*. The most distinguished and successful of them was Bernardino Tomitano, a native of Feltre, a very eloquent Franciscan monk; who travelled through Italy, preaching against usury, and actively promoting the formation of clubs for the accommotion of the poor. If he had confined his efforts to this object alone, he might have been regarded as a useful member of society; but he appears to have been actuated by a bigoted hatred of the Jews, and his harangues often excited the populace against them. At Florence, the magistrates were obliged to order him to leave the city, on account of the danger to which the Israelite inhabitants had been exposed by his inflammatory discourses. A monkish writer, in re-

cording this occurrence, states that the Florentine rulers had been bribed by the Jews; so impossible did it appear to him that they could have been influenced by motives of humanity or policy in the order which they had given! At Sienna, a Hebrew physician had been long resident, and his reputation was so well established, that he received a salary from the civic authorities for the care he took of the public health. When Bernardino arrived, he made every effort to irritate the inhabitants against this inoffensive and useful man; he raked together every falsehood which malice could invent or credulity believe; and, among other stories, related that one of his profession at Avignon, while on his deathbed, had boasted with the utmost satisfaction of having poisoned some thousands of Christians! Such tales were not without their effect, and the most revolting instances of fanaticism were the result. A nobleman had a son dangerously ill, and wished to have recourse to the skill of the physician, but his wife strenuously opposed his desire, declaring that it was better their child should die than owe his recovery to the drugs of an unbeliever!

At Lucca, the zealous Franciscan experienced great opposition, but his perseverance enabled him to surmount every obstacle. When he began to inveigh against those who took the Jews under their protection, the citizens reminded him of the bulls of the popes, which were favorable to that people. Bernardino was not disconcerted by this weighty argument; he boldly asserted that the edict of Nicholas III., which appears to have been especially brought forward by his adversaries, had been obtained from him by fraud, and signed without his being aware of its contents. He then quoted various papal decrees, which were very hostile to the Hebrews. The Lucchese next brought a distinguished theologian from Florence to refute his arguments; but this person was either not very zealous in the cause which he undertook to defend, or did not support it to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, for they proceeded to found a bank for the poor at the public expense. A wealthy capitalist, who had been formerly associated with the Israelites, and had

vigorously opposed the establishment of the *monte di pieta*, contributed forty thousand pieces of gold to its funds, when he saw that his resistance could not prevent its institution.

Bernardino seldom met with such determined opposition as at Lucca; in most of the Italian cities and towns the exactions of the Jews had prepared the minds of the inhabitants to give a favorable reception to his exertions. Thus, at Placentia, where the people were subjected to the enormous rate of cent. per cent., we may readily imagine that the institution of a *monte di pieta* was a matter of no great difficulty. Rome and Naples were among the last cities which adopted these charitable establishments, as they did not possess them till towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The Dominicans, always jealous of their rivals, the Franciscans, inveighed against the banks for the poor, calling them *monte di impieta;* and the pope, deeming it proper to interfere, gave his express sanction to the establishments in question, declaring them useful, and menacing with excommunication all who should oppose them. Similar institutions were organized in Germany; and, in order to give free scope to them, the Jews were sometimes either banished, or forbidden to practise usury. Yet in many places, although established at first with great zeal, they appear to have speedily fallen into decay, and disappeared altogether.

There are various reasons which may account for a want of success in these *monte di pieta*, proportioned to the expectations of their enthusiastic founder. They could only be instituted in large towns; they were subjected to regulations often severe, or even oppressive; they involved a public confession of poverty from those who took advantage of them; and borrowers were required to prove that their deposits were their own property. These circumstances did not exist in the case of the common lenders, who were consequently still found too useful to be dispensed with.*

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* Depping, pp. 468—470, 475—481. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 162—164 sec. part, pp. 94—97, 103, 104.

Florence had risen to the first rank among the cities of Italy, and the historian Muratori ascribes its elevation, in a great measure, to its practice of usury on a large scale. The Christians of Florence gave protection to their Jewish brethren, who long flourished there in peace and security, and were occasionally chosen to fill situations of trust and honor; for, in 1414, a banker of that religion was sent as ambassador to Visconti, duke of Milan. That haughty prince, refusing to give him an audience, ordered him to transact business with his secretary. The republic felt itself affronted by this insult offered to its envoy, and immediately declared war.

A state which had shown such kindness and consideration to its Jewish subjects, might be expected to receive with humanity their brethren who were exiled from other countries; and so in fact it proved. When the Medici founded Leghorn, whose well chosen situation marked it out as a place fitted to become an emporium of commerce, they assigned a quarter in it to the Jews recently expelled from Spain and Portugal, who established themselves so firmly there, that they have continued ever since in a state of prosperity. They were permitted by the Florentine government to elect a senate of their own, who should possess the power of regulating all their affairs. They still retain a mark of their origin, by preserving the Spanish language in their liturgy, and they celebrate their religious festivals with great pomp. Their wealth enables them to maintain a synagogue, several schools, and a hospital: their merchants have often acquired considerable fortunes in their commercial speculations, especially with Africa; and though they are obliged to reside in the *ghetto* or Jews' suburb, they possess a great part of the city and the lands in its neighborhood. Leghorn is now one of the most flourishing settlements of the Jews in Europe; and they still retain there that prosperity, which, under the Medici, made it a proverb that a man might as safely strike the grand duke as an Israelite.

In the kingdom of Naples, that people were not treated

with the same favor as at Florence and its dependencies; on the contrary, they were sometimes exposed to arbitrary exactions by the prince. For example, about the year 1428, the Minorites accused them of having induced the Sultan of Egypt to take away their chapel at Jerusalem, in order to convert it into a synagogue. The accusation was probably false, but, at all events, the monks succeeded, by lavishing presents in the proper quarter, in recovering their edifice; for both Pope Martin V., and Queen Joanna II., of Naples, imposed considerable fines upon the Jews in their dominions, for the purpose, as they alleged, of reimbursing the friars for the expenses which they had incurred. In the year 1456, the Neapolitian Israelites were subjected to a new tribute for a different purpose. It would appear that their legitimate sovereign had, for some reason or other, temporarily relinquished his rights over them; for this tax was levied by the commissioner of Pope Calixtus III., with the design of being applied to defray the expenses of a war with the Turks, who had lately struck terror into all Europe by the taking of Constantinople. The papal collector was directed to levy from the Jews in the two Sicilies, the tithe of all their goods, movable and immovable, and to make them give up all the proceeds of their usurious dealings; he was, moreover, empowered to make use both of the ecclesiastical and secular arms. It seems that this power of the Roman pontiff over them ceased with the occasion, for we hear no more of any exertions of his authority.*

"The most distinguished of the Jews who had been banished from Spain, was Abarbanel." Abra Banel, or Don Isaac, called also Abravanel, Ben Judah, by contraction, was the most celebrated of all the Spanish rabbis; he descended from the ancient and honorable family of Abrabanel, which was of Hebrew origin. Though this family had always adhered to the religion of their forefathers, they had long been held noble in Spain, and permitted to assume the patrician title of Don, which in those times was strictly

* Depping, pp. 431—437.

confined to men of noble descent. Indeed, Abrabanel himself boasts that this illustrious family was of royal blood, and of the house of David; and he quotes as his evidence the author of "Shebet Jehuda," who states that this family first appeared in Seville, and then asserts its royal origin; "for," says the Shebet Jehuda, "a certain Spanish king, named Pyrrhus, in the days of Nebuchadonoser, to whose assistance he had led an auxiliary force, brought back Hebrew captives into Spain, into that part which is called Andalusia, and came to the city of Toledo; but that portion of the Hebrews who had inhabited within the third wall of Jerusalem, and were of the blood royal, he took to Seville." From Seville this family was dispersed over various parts of Spain and Portugal, but the main branch seems to have settled in Lisbon, then a flourishing city, where Rabbi Isaac Abrabanel was born, A. M. 5197, (A. D. 1437.) His parents, who were rich, spared no expense in his education; and he being naturally of a most acute and ardent disposition, and gifted with a wonderful power of application, became well versed in all the learning of the time, and especially in the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the rabbis. Nor was he wanting in any of those higher qualities which form a great man, and lead to distinction: to the acuteness and subtilty of the Jewish character, he added the gravity and courtesy of the Spanish hidalgo; he possessed a peculiar tranquillity of mind and an aptitude for business, which are not often joined with profound learning. When he was twenty years of age he began his expositions in the synagogue at Lisbon, and gave lectures on the book of Deuteronomy. These lectures formed the foundation of his valuable commentary on Deuteronomy, though they were lost for many years; and he only recovered them, to his great joy, in the year 1495, at Corfu, at a time when, giving up other studies, he applied himself with all his power to complete this work. By his profound knowledge and lucid expositions of the Scriptures, he earned himself the title of Rov, the most flattering which his nation could bestow. The king of Portugal, Alphonso V., was so convinced of his superior pru

dence and wisdom, that he had frequent recourse to his advice in time of war. On the death of Alphonso, in 1481, his son and successor, John II., moved thereto by the bigotry of the age, or as Father Bartolocci expresses it, knowing the malice and wickedness of this Jew's disposition, banished him from his presence, together with all the ministers of the late king, under the pretence of their having conspired to deliver the kingdom to the Spaniards. Abrabanel, knowing how little scrupulous Catholic kings were in those days about sacrificing Jews on the slightest grounds, wisely resolved not to await the next move of his enemies, and he fled by night into the kingdom of Castile. By diligent application to business he had acquired great wealth, which was all confiscated; but what seems to have vexed him most was the loss of his books, and among the rest, the MSS. of his lectures on Deuteronomy. The fame of his high qualities having accompanied or followed him to Spain, he was, in 1484, received with great favor at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Here also he applied himself to mercantile speculation, Bartolocci says, to usury, and soon acquired a large fortune. It was now at the age of forty-seven that he began his commentaries on the earlier prophets, which he finished in the space of four months: he seems to have lived in Spain with great pomp, assuming all the state of a Spanish grandee, until the year 1492, when the decree was promulgated by Ferdinand and Isabella, by which all Jews were banished from their dominions, and their property was confiscated to the crown. Abrabanel, involved in the common ruin, embarked with his wife and children on the Mediterranean, and landed in the city of Naples, then, as now, the capital of the two Sicilies, where his genius and great political experience soon opened him a way to the court of king Ferdinand, and to the royal favor. Here, at the age of fifty-six, he wrote his admirable commentaries on the Books of the Kings, while, at the same time, he was accumulating a new fortune by assiduous and successful application to business. But while Abrabanel was enjoying tranquillity at Naples, and was busy on other

works which have preserved his name, the news arrived that Charles VIII. of France was preparing an expedition for the invasion of Naples. This army, in the bitterness of his mind, Abrabanel calls "Zebub Melehc Isarphs," ("the flies of the king of France.")—Preface to Deuteronomy. But before the French king arrived, Ferdinand died, and Alphonso II. reigned in his stead, A. D. 1494. The French occupied the principal fortresses almost without firing a gun, and gained possession of almost the whole kingdom of Naples. Alphonso, seized with a panic, fled into Sicily, and Abrabanel followed his fortunes and dwelt with him at Messina, where Alphonso died in the following year, 1795. 1495

Although Abrabanel himself had left Naples, his commercial establishment was still maintained there; and its affairs were directed by his son Samuel, a man at once rich, learned, and munificent, who spent a large portion of his wealth in acts of charity. It may have been in consequence of the popularity which his beneficence had procured for him, that he was allowed to remain in safety while the edict of banishment was rigidly enforced against the other Israelites. He fondly cherished the hope of seeing them return to a land where in former days they had enjoyed peace and prosperity; and his wife Ben-Venida exerted herself so successfully with the ladies of the court in favor of her countrymen, that they petitioned the emperor, Charles the Fifth, to recall the exiles. That prince was at first disposed to listen to their request, and several Jews took advantage of his favorable sentiments, to steal back into the kingdom. At the end of a few years, however, the emperor, influenced by bigoted counsellors, issued orders to all the Israelites in his Italian dominions to depart without delay. They obeyed, and retired into Turkey, the States of the Church, and such other countries as were still open to them.

Abrabanel quitting Sicily, sailed to Corfu, but he remained there only one year, after which he returned to the kingdom of Naples, and fixed his abode at Monopoli, a maritime town of Apulia. At Corfu, he began to write his commentaries on the latter prophets. He lived at Monopoli for

about seven years in great tranquillity, devoting himself almost entirely to his studies, and here, between the years 1496 and 1503, he completed many of his most celebrated works. In 1508, he left his peaceful home at Monopoli, and sailed to Venice, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty between the king of Portugal and the Venetian republic, as regarded the trade in spices. At Venice, he wrote his commentaries on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, and he remained there until his death, which took place A. D. 1508, or, according to the Jewish computation, A. M. 5268, at the age of seventy-one. His body was carried to Padua, and buried in the ancient cemetery of the Jews, without the gates of the city ; within eight days afterwards, R. Jacob Mintz departed this life, and was buried by the side of his friend Abrabanel. In the year 1509, the city of Padua being besieged by the Imperialists, the Jewish cemetery was entirely destroyed, and a highway opened through it, so that no vestiges of the tomb of Abrabanel remained. Don Isaac left three sons by one wife, Judah, Joseph, and Samuel, who all seem to have been worthy of their father. Judah, his first born, better known as Les Hebræus, is spoken of as a learned philosopher, a skilful physician, and an elegant poet. Joseph, his second son, though not a man of great learning, was most highly esteemed : he never left his father, even in the seasons of his greatest adversities, and in him the promise annexed to the commandment was fulfilled, for he lived in peace, having survived his father many years. Samuel, who was also celebrated for his learning, became a convert to the Christian religion, at Ferrara, where he was baptized Alphonso, after the duke of that name. Abrabanel's real greatness and intellectual power are shown in the important works which he has left to posterity ; and we must form a high estimate of his abilities, when we consider that his life was not that of a retired student, but of a busy man of the world, a courtier, and one who was engaged in the pursuit of wealth, in which he was so successful. Even his biographer, Bartolocci, while he calls him a man of the most cor-

rupt mind, (vir perspicui, des pessini ingenii,) a blasphemer, and other hard names, is evidently struck with admiration of his high qualities: he says that he was a man of most penetrating mind, indefatigable, much accustomed to fasting, sleeping little, so that he often passed whole nights at his studies; a diligent, though often a false expounder of the Holy Scriptures, and of such facility with his pen, that his expositions of some books of Scripture were written in a few days. But Bartolocci, himself a man of profound learning, could not do otherwise than to respect a man like Don Isaac; at the same time he could not forget that he himself was a Cistertian monk of the congregation of St. Bernard, and in that character he could not pass over the severe blows which Abrabanel aims at the Roman Catholic clergy in some of his commentaries, especially that on Daniel and the latter prophets. Indeed, he spared neither popes nor cardinals, but he derived arguments against Christianity from the scandalous corruptions of the court of Rome.

Not long after, a Jew named David, a man of considerable eloquence, came into Europe from Asia. He was animated with a burning zeal for Judaism, and every where sought to gain proselytes to it. Among others he converted Solomon Molchu, secretary of the Portuguese king, who was privately circumcised, and became a very able defender of the faith which he had thus espoused. He was elected by David as his coadjutor in his missionary operations, and in conjunction they visited various kingdoms of Europe, and even ventured into the courts of Francis I. and Charles V. This rashness cost them dear, as the emperor caused them to be apprehended. Molchu was condemned to be burned alive; and, in order to prevent his making any impression by his eloquence upon the crowd assembled to witness his execution, his mouth was gagged as he was conducted to the stake. His death took place at Mantua in 1533. The other was spared for the present, but was kept in prison until Charles left Italy for Spain, when he was taken along with him, and made one of the victims of an *auto da fe*.

The duke of Ferrara had, in 1496, received the Hebrew

exiles from Portugal with favor, merely requiring them to wear a little yellow circle upon their breasts, as a mark of distinction from Christians. Upwards of half a century they continued to dwell in safety and peace; but in 1551 the plague broke out in Ferrara, and the people loudly accused them of having introduced it. In order to prevent worse consequences which might have arisen from the popular fanaticism, the duke was obliged to order the unhappy Israelites to quit his dominions. Enfeebled by the disease, they could scarcely drag themselves to the vessels, which were appointed to convey them to other countries. Some of them fell into the hands of pirates; others, after having been repulsed from all the ports of the Adriatic, found a hospitable reception from their brethren at Pesaro.

The wise government of Venice had long extended its protection to the Jews, whose usefulness they fully appreciated. Their intention, in tolerating them, as announced in several edicts, was to furnish their subjects with the means of always obtaining ready money upon loan. It was as bankers and capitalists that the wanderers were encouraged to settle. The government, however, kept a strict watch over their proceedings, and made various regulations to prevent their taking undue advantage of the protection afforded them. In 1385, they were obliged to confine themselves to a certain part of the city, which has ever since continued to be inhabited by them; and they were forbidden to oppress the poor, as they had previously done, by refusing to lend except upon the most valuable pledges, or by exacting a very exorbitant interest. Venice showed the same favor towards the Israelites, in the various districts which from time to time became subject to her sway. Accordingly, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Latins made themselves masters of Constantinople, the podesta appointed by the Venetians had under his jurisdiction the Jews and Armenians. At the return of the Greek emperors, this functionary lost a considerable portion of his power; but the Israelites, as they found their advantage in being still considered subjects of the republic, paid an annual sum for

that privilege. The podesta received from them presents at his entrance in office, and at stated periods of the year.

The inhabitants of Ravenna, in 1484, were stirred up by the harangues of Bernardino of Feltre, to drive the Hebrew usurers out of their city; and sent deputies to Venice, requesting the senate to pronounce an edict of banishment against the hated race. The magistracy, after having calmly heard both parties, enjoined the Jews to practise usury no more, as a *monte di pieta* had been established at Ravenna; and shut up their synagogue, which, occupying an eminent position, had thereby attracted too much the attention of the fanatical multitude. At Verona, and other places, the authorities protected the Jews from the danger to which they were exposed by the discourses of Bernardino.

At Genoa it would appear that the Israelites had been long established. The inhabitants of that city, previously to the subjugation of the Greek empire by the Turks, possessed the port of Caffa, which became the emporium of their commerce in the Black Sea. Here the Jews settled, and employed themselves in the slave trade. Purchasing boys and girls from the Russians, Tartars and Circassians, they sold them to the Saracens and Turks; sometimes making such profitable bargains as to clear a thousand per cent. Intelligence of this traffic was conveyed to the court of Rome, probably by the Dominicans resident in the place; when Martin V., who at that time occupied the papal throne, immediately took steps to put an end to it. He first ordered that all the Jews of Caffa should wear a distinctive mark upon their dress. Having thus ensured their detection, he next enjoined the bishop of the city and the Genoese authorities to seize the goods of such as had been engaged in the sale of slaves, and employ the price in the redemption of those unhappy victims of their avarice. If any of them refused to surrender their ill-gotten gains, instructions were given that they should be expelled from the colony.*

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* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxix. p. 722. Depping, pp. 490—492, 514—520, 523—525. Beugnot, prem. part, p. 176—179.

CHAPTER XVI.

Italian Rabbis—Leo the Hebrew—His "Dialogues of Love"—Jewish Printing-presses in Italy—The Soncinati—Gerson de Soncino, a renowned Printer—Learned Men—Gedaliah ben Joseph Jachia—Solomon Usque—His "Consolation of Israel"—Leo of Modena—Tremelius—The Jews persecuted by various Popes—Wise Policy of Sixtus V.—German Jews—Jews in Russia—Influence of the Reformation on the State of the Jews—They enjoy great Prosperity in Poland—They are protected by the United Provinces—Jews at Constantinople.—From A. D. 1530 to A. D. 1647.

We have seen that the exiles from Spain and Portugal were kindly received in various Italian states. Among those refugees there were several distinguished rabbis, such as David ben Joseph ben Jachia, who was chosen governor of the Jews at Naples; and Joseph ben Don-David, who, for twenty-two years, was the head of the synagogue at Imola. The former was celebrated as a grammarian, poet and philosopher; the latter, besides being a commentator on some books of the Bible, was the author of several works on the Talmud. But the most famous of the exiles was the oldest son of Abarbanel, named Judah, but better known by the appellation of Leo the Hebrew. On his expulsion from Spain, he retired to Genoa, where he practised medicine, and taught such philosophy as was received among his people in those days; namely, a species of eclecticism, combining the opinions of Plato and Aristotle with the dogmas of Averroes, Avicenna, and other Arabian sages, as also the doctrines of the various rabbinical schools. Leo has left us a curious specimen of his sentiments in his "Dialogues of Love;" a work in which there are two interlocutors introduced, by name Philo and Sophia, the former of whom instructs the latter in the loves of the angels, planets, elements, and other beings generally supposed to be beyond the reach of human affection. It has been remarked of this

book, that the author seems to have accurately described the verdict of posterity on himself in the words which Philo addresses to his fair auditor : " Your reasonings demonstrate the ingenuity of your fancy, rather than the solidity of your understanding." Yet the " Dialogues of Love " were popular in their day. Originally written in Italian, they were several times printed at Rome ; and being soon afterwards translated into French by the Sieur de Parc, were published at Lyons, with a dedication to Catherine de Medicis.

The Jewish inhabitants of Italy, who cultivated literature, as well as the exiles from Spain and Portugal, gave sufficient evidence of their fondness for it, by the number of printing presses which they established about the end of the fifteenth century. They published books, not merely on religious subjects, but also such as were connected with history, jurisprudence, and medicine ; and, as they were printed with the greatest care from the best manuscripts, are highly valued by collectors. The impressions, however, appear to have been generally small, so that copies of most of them have become exceedingly rare. It was in 1475 that their press in Italy sent forth its first work. This was the commentary of Solomon Jarchi on the Pentateuch, a small folio, printed by Abraham Garton, at Reggio in Calabria ; and the only copy of it known to exist was in the possession of J. B. de Rossi, the author of a learned treatise on Hebrew typography. The next work printed was the Arba-Turim, or " Four Orders " of Jacob ben Ascer, which is a system of Hebrew law, and consists of four volumes in the first edition. Some verses at the end, according to the fashion of the times, announce the name of the printer to have been the rabbi Mesculam, surnamed Kosi ; and his establishment was at Plebisacio, or Pieve-di-Sacco, a town of the Paduan territory. Printing presses being speedily established at Bologna, Mantua, Ferrara, and various other cities, were kept in active employment. The most celebrated of them was that under the direction of the Soncinati family, who, originally from Germany, came to reside in Soncino, a little town of the Milanese, at present in a state of obscurity. The mem-

ber of this family who obtained the greatest celebrity was Gerson, whose press was stationed at the above-mentioned place in 1484, and continued during six years to send forth a number of works, principally on theological subjects. The first book which issued from it was a portion of the Talmud, namely, that which relates to benedictions, with the commentaries of Jarchi, Maimonides, and other rabbis. The most important was a complete copy of the Old Testament, with points and accents, remarkable for the number of various readings it contains, which are stated by Kennicott to amount to several thousands.

While the press of Soncino was thus active, that of Naples likewise began to distinguish itself. Its first work was a Psalter, with the commentary of David Kimchi; which was so far from rivalling the correctness of the other Hebrew books, that the printer was obliged to excuse himself, by pleading that he had not been able to perfect his typographical arrangements. Various other portions of the Bible followed, with the expositions of the most celebrated doctors. Among these there appeared the first complete edition of Aben Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch; a book which has now become exceedingly rare, as De Rossi, after all his investigations, was only able to ascertain the existence of one copy in Italy, besides that which he himself possessed. In addition to the theological works of the great rabbis, the Neapolitan press supplied treatises on subjects of secular interest; as, for example, the Makre Dardeke, or Teacher, a rabbinical dictionary, in Hebrew, Arabic, and Italian, a compilation of which the author is unknown; and also a translation of a medical work by Avicenna, which proves that the Israelites in the south of Italy did not neglect the study of the healing art, in which their ancestors had been so famous. One of the latest issues of the press at Naples, was an edition of the Mishna, which made its appearance in 1492: the expulsion of the Jews from the Two Sicilies, of course, putting an end to their typographical operations in that part of Europe.

Meanwhile, Soncino having left the town from which he

derived his surname, had transferred his establishment to Brescia; where he remained some years, and among other works, published the Old Testament, with points and accents. The readings of this edition differ remarkably from those of the other Hebrew Bibles printed in Italy. He afterwards travelled from place to place, carrying his press along with him; and became so remarkable for the number of his removals, that in one of his books he styled himself Gerson the Wanderer. He planted himself successively at Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Thessalonica, and Constantinople, where he still continued to print in 1533; but it appears that he died shortly afterwards, having achieved a successful career during half a century. The most celebrated of his later works was a Bible, in two folio volumes, printed at Pesaro in 1517, and so much esteemed, that a second edition was called for within a short time. Both impressions, however, have now become exceedingly rare.*

Although there were various towns in Italy which possessed Jewish printing presses, the only one which was regarded as worthy of being the rival of that of Gerson de Soncino was the Venetian, under the superintendence of Daniel Bomberg. It gave birth to a great number of works, and, among others, a Bible, with the Targum and various commentaries of the rabbis, forming four volumes in folio. This edition, which was executed in 1524–5, is very rare and much esteemed, and is regarded as the source of all the Masoretic copies of the Scriptures. After the departure of Gerson into Turkey, Venice was, with the exception of Bologna, the only city in Italy which continued to print books for the use of the Israelites; but various presses had been established in Germany and Poland, which supplied them with copies of their most esteemed works. Nor was this benefit confined to those for whom it was originally intended. Several distinguished Christians applied themselves to the study of Hebrew, and explored the obscure writings of the rabbis; content to wade through much

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxix. p. 725. Depping, p. 493—504.

trifling matter, if they could thereby obtain some useful helps to the right understanding of the Old Testament. One of the most remarkable of the students was John Picus, count of Mirandola, whose writings prove his proficiency in rabbinical lore. He was, however, deceived by some of the Jews who frequented his house, and had certain manuscripts of a modern date palmed upon him as the genuine writings of Zoroaster and other oriental philosophers.* The bigoted Catholics condemned this study altogether; and alleged, that the only effect which it could have on those who devoted themselves to it, would be to incline them to Judaism. A converted Hebrew, named Pleffercorn even requested the Emperor Maximilian to order all the works which issued from the Jewish press to be committed to the flames. But the celebrated Capnio, or Reuchlin, one of the best oriental scholars that Germany has ever produced, interfered to prevent the execution of this barbarous design, and was fortunately successful in rescuing those works from the fate which awaited them.

Besides the distinguished printers whom we have mentioned, Italy produced various rabbis, who acquired reputation by their talents and learning. Among these was Gedaliah ben Joseph Jachia, born at Imola in 1500, who was at once a historian, a preacher, a lawyer, and a philosopher. He has left a number of volumes, some of which are valuable for the information they contain respecting the history of the Jews. The most remarkable of these is the Salseleth ha Khabalah, or chain of Tradition, upon which he spent upwards of thirty years. It is divided into three parts. The first treats of the history of the Israelites till the fifteenth century; the second discusses the subjects of astronomy and the natural history of man; while the third embraces the annals of the Jews a hundred years later, dwelling particularly upon the events which befel them before their expulsion from Spain. This work has proved a

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxix. sect. 4. M'Crie's Reformation in Italy p. 41.

mine of information to modern authors who have written respecting this singular people.

Abraham Usque, who was born at Lisbon, printed at Ferrara, in 1553, a Spanish translation of the Bible, made with much care from the Hebrew text, and intended for the use of the banished Jews. A much more celebrated person was Solomon Usque, probably a near relation of the other, who printed his most remarkable work, the "Consolation of Israel." This book is written in Portuguese, or rather in the corrupt dialect spoken by the Jews of Portugal, in which words of Asiatic origin abound. It was intended to console his countrymen for the afflictions and persecutions which they had undergone, by representing them as originating in the express appointment of Divine Providence. This work is in the form of a dialogue, and one of the speakers is the patriarch Jacob, who recounts the various calamities that had befallen his unhappy race in different ages and countries. The melancholy reflections, which could not but be occasioned by the consideration of such a series of disasters, are in some measure relieved by the discourses of the other two interlocutors, the prophets Nahum and Zechariah, who inform him that the Almighty has, for wise and holy purposes, seen proper to afflict his chosen people, and with this view, repeat those predictions in the Old Testament which announce the future calamities of the Jews. The "Consolation of Israel" is written in a much plainer and simpler style than that which usually distinguishes their writings, and is, for the most part, characterized by a spirit of moderation towards Christianity. Yet, occasionally, the patriarch is introduced as rejoicing over the misfortunes which have overtaken the persecutors of the Israelites; and he ascribes the deaths of various princes, such as Sisebut, king of the Goths, Philip of France, and John II. of Portugal, to the vengeance of God, directed against them for banishing his ancient people. He sees the same Divine displeasure manifested against whole nations who had ill treated the Jews; the Spaniards were punished by their unfortunate wars in Italy; the French by their un-

successful contests with the Spaniards; the English by the invasions of the Scots; and the Germans by those of the Turks. The "Consolation of Israel" is now an exceedingly rare volume, never having been reprinted.

Another historical work was produced by the rabbi Joseph ben Joshua, who was born at Avignon in 1497. It is entitled Dibra haiiamim le malce Zarphath, or the Words of the days of the kings of France. It contains an account of the wars between that country and the Turks, as well as of the expeditions to the Holy Land; and likewise treats of the persecutions to which his people had been subjected from the seventh to the middle of the sixteenth century. Bartolocci regards it as the most faithful history which the Jews have given to the public; and Basnage has characterized its author as not much inferior to Josephus. It was first printed at Venice in 1554.

One of the most famous of the Italian rabbis was Jehadah Arie, better known by the name of Leo of Modena, in which city he was born. He published a Bible, with rabbinical commentaries, in four folio volumes; and also a work, called "The Mouth of the Lion," a dictionary of those words used by the rabbis which are neither pure Hebrew nor pure Chaldee, and is very useful to such scholars as study the writings of the rabbis. The best known of his works is his treatise on the manners and customs of the modern Jews, in which is to be found a great variety of curious and interesting information respecting the mode of living which then characterized that people. Leo was a bitter enemy to Christianity, and endeavored, by the most absurd means, to prove our Savior an imposter; alleging that the letters of the word Jesus, if reckoned according to their numerical power, amounted to 616, which was likewise the number formed by the letters of the words Elohe Nechar, "the strange gods." Hence he concluded that it was impious to worship Him as the true God; but such trifling arguments could effect little against the evidences of the evangelical religion. Leo, though born at Modena, was resident the greater part of his life at Venice, where, having

filled the honorable office of head of the synagogue, he died at a very advanced age.

Immanuel Tremellius was born at Ferrara in 1510. Originally a Jew, he was converted to the Christian faith by Cardinal Pole, but not long after, being convinced of the errors of Romanism, he joined the small band of Italian reformers. Constrained to leave his native land, he fixed his residence in England, and became professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. When the death of Edward VI. drove him to the continent, he obtained a similar situation, first at Heidelberg, and then at Sedan, where he died in 1580. He made a Latin version of the Bible, and, as we are told by Beza in his life of Calvin, translated into Hebrew the admired catechism of that great reformer.

We have previously mentioned, that the condition of the Jews at Rome depended upon the mere will of the pope, and hence was prosperous or miserable, according as he happened to be of a tolerant temper or the reverse. It was in the pontificate of Alexander VI. that the Israelites were expelled from Spain and Portugal: many of them fled to Rome, where they were but coldly received by their brethren, who were perhaps afraid that the strangers would be looked upon with jealousy by the papal power. But they were mistaken. Alexander enjoined them to treat the exiles with all kindness, and encouraged their settling in his dominions. It is probable, that a pope who hesitated at no crime, and seldom showed himself influenced in the slightest degree by humanity, extended his protection to the Jews solely from motives of policy, knowing them to be peaceful and industrious subjects; but whatever were his reasons for favoring them, his conduct, in this respect, must ever stand in favorable contrast to the short-sighted bigotry which characterized the proceedings of so many sovereigns contemporary with him.

In 1539, during the pontificate of Paul III., grievous complaints were made by Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, in the petty state of Avignon, of the indulgence which the Jews there enjoyed under the protection of his

holiness. He affirmed that it was exceedingly inconsistent in him to persecute the Lutherans, as enemies of the church, while he favored the Israelites, who, as unbelievers, were unquestionably worse than any heretics. He added, that the pope had never shown such kindness to Christians as he had manifested to the adversaries of the Gospel; who were emboldened by his indulgence to conduct themselves in the most haughty manner towards the faithful, whom they seized every opportunity to oppress or defraud. Perhaps it was in some measure in consequence of this remonstrance of Sadolet, that Paul, a few years afterwards, issued a bull hostile to the Jews. In it he annuls all decrees of kings or emperors conferring privileges on them contrary to the papal edicts; and requires the strictest care to be taken of converts from that creed, separating them entirely from their relations, and subjecting them to the vengeance of the Inquisition, if they should be found guilty of practising any Hebrew rites.

Some years later, Julius III., conceiving that the Talmud was full of impious fables, ordered all the copies of it which could be found to be burnt. In his reign Joseph Tzarphati, a famous rabbi, who had long taught at Rome, was converted to Christianity; and to flatter him he took the surname of Monte, which was the family name of the pope. He both preached and wrote against Judaism, but we know not with what effect.

Paul IV., an ecclesiastic whose stern and haughty temper was not softened by his very advanced years, had scarcely assumed the tiara, when he fulminated a severe edict against the Jews. He ordered every synagogue in his dominions to contribute ten ducats annually, for the instruction of the converts to the evangelical faith, thus inflicting the most cruel injury on their conscientious convictions. He forbade them to associate with Christians, or to possess more than one synagogue in any town; he further deprived them of all liberty to pursue any branch of commerce, restricting them to money-lending; and required that they should abstain from selling the pledges for eighteen months,

and even then restore the surplus to the borrower. They were to dispose of all their immovable property in six months, and were prohibited from acquiring any in future This provision was most oppressive; for the houses and lands included in the bull were valued at five hundred thousand crowns, and they sold them at such a disadvantage, that they scarcely received a tenth part of their worth. So arbitrary was the pontiff, that he would not allow Jewish physicians to attend Christian patients. The only enactment in which we can trace any vestige of reason or justice, is that in which he condemns to the flames those rabbinical writings only which contain any thing blasphemous against our Lord. Although this provision is not consistent with the more enlarged views of modern toleration, it indicates a wiser spirit than that which frequently instigated princes and pontiffs to destroy all Jewish volumes without exception. It was in the days of this pope that a zealous Dominican, Sixtus of Sienna, was sent from Rome to Cremona, to burn a splendid library which they had collected there. This monk relates that he committed to the flames twelve thousand volumes, and regrets that the weakness or avarice of the princes of Christendom permitted the Israelites any where to possess religious books.

Pius IV., the next pope, annulled the persecuting edict of his predecessor, and restored the Jews to nearly all the privileges which they had previously enjoyed, though they did not obtain his countenance without the payment of a considerable sum. His successor, Pius V., who accused them of magic, extortion, fraud, robbery, profligacy, and various other crimes, banished them from every part of his dominions except Rome and Ancona. His reason for retaining in his capital persons whom he charged with such detestable deeds, was his desire to keep the Christians in mind of the sufferings to which the Savior had been subjected by their ancestors, and to afford to the Jews themselves an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Gospel, and being converted. Such, at least, were the motives which he assigned; but it has been surmised that, with all his professed

abhorrence of them, he found them too useful, seriously to wish their banishment from his territories.

Although Gregory XIII. allowed them to return to some cities in the States of the Church, such as Ravenna, he subjected them to the control of the Inquisition; prohibited them from reading the Talmud, or other books hostile to Christianity; and obliged them to appear at the sermons, which were statedly delivered for their conversion. Their behavior, while hearing these discourses, is said to have been far from decorous; and the efforts of the preachers were probably attended with little success. Sixtus V., the next pope, seeing the impolicy of the restrictions imposed by his predecessors, annulled all the severe laws; granting to the Hebrew nation perfect liberty of trade, restoring to them the privilege of appealing to the civil tribunals, and subjecting them only to the ordinary rate of taxation.*

In the northern parts of Europe, they were exposed to persecutions, similar to those which had oppressed them in the south. Ladislas, the king of Hungary and Bohemia, in 1454, permitted the inhabitants of various cities in his dominions to expel those who resided there, to seize upon their houses and lands, and to extinguish all debts due to them, upon condition of their continuing to pay the amount of tribute which had been formerly levied from the unhappy Israelites. During the reign of Maximilian I., various complaints were preferred against them. They were accussd of murdering Christian children, counterfeiting the coin of the realm, and practising usury to an enormous extent. The emperor, yielding to this clamor, ordered them to leave his dominions. So eager were the estates of Stiria to procure their expulsion, that they offered to him the sum of thirty-eight thousand florins, as an indemnification for the loss which he would sustain by the cessation of the tribute formerly exacted from the unfortunate race, who had incurred their deadly hatred. They even enumerated the perpetual

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxix. p. 721—728. Depping, p. 504—530. Beugnot, p. 255—260.

exile of the Israelites among the articles of their constitution, to which each successive monarch was obliged to swear at his accession; and, at the present time, it is only with great difficulty, and as a special indulgence, that any Jew is permitted to reside, for even a short period, within the limits of that duchy. From the state of Bradenburgh they were likewise expelled about the beginning of the sixteenth century; and were obliged to take an oath, that they would neither themselves return, nor be in any way instrumental in inducing their brethren to enter the country. But, though thus banished from various parts of Germany, they were nowhere exposed to the loss of life, except at Ratisbon; where the populace assaulting them, massacred a number, so that the survivors were glad to escape from their hands, even at the price of exile and confiscation of property.

Nearly about the same time, a Jewish physician of Venice, named Leo, who had penetrated to the court of Russia, undertook to cure the son of the Czar, who was dangerously ill. He appears to have miscalculated his own skill, for the young prince died, and the autocrat was so enraged at the disappointment of his expectations, that he ordered him to be put to death. Shortly afterwards, a rabbi of the name of Zacharias, greatly addicted to astrology, found means to become the head of a sect who devoted themselves to the study of cabalistic books, which their leader assured them had been transmitted from the times of David and Solomon. These sectaries imagined that the volumes they regarded with so much reverence contained in their mystic phraseology the most important secrets of nature, which it was well worth the labor even of a whole life to acquire. The Jew won over to his opinions a number both of the priests and the laity; but the superior clergy, condemning their conclusions as heretical, anathematized them in a council. Not content with ecclesiastical fulminations, they applied to the Czar to exert his authority in suppressing these dangerous doctrines. It is uncertain what was the result of their request, some accounts stating that the prince refused to comply with it; while others allege,

that he endeavored by persecution to extirpate the followers of Zacharias, who, notwithstanding, continued to maintain their opinions, which, it is said, are held even to the present day.

We now return to Germany, where the Reformation brought out the rabbinical writings from the obscurity to which they had long been condemned. Both protestant and popish divines began to study them; convinced of the great assistance which, amidst all their errors and absurdities, they afford toward the right understanding of the Old Testament. But the great revolution in religious opinion, which was the consequence of the efforts of Luther, does not appear to have produced any remarkable change in the condition of the Jews; although by paving the way for the toleration which, a century afterwards, was generally established throughout Europe, it did in the end secure a more ample indulgence towards them. The reformer himself disliked the Israelites on account of their usurious practices; and, by his influence, prevented some German princes from giving them liberty to reside within their dominions. At first, he seems to have been inclined to favor violent methods of conversion; but, further reflection convincing him of the inefficacy of such means of propagating Christianity, he reprobated all efforts to win them over to the truth, except by argument and persuasion. The Jewish writers tell various malicious stories respecting him; and among others, they allege that he sought to obtain a large sum of money from their brethren at Frankfort, promising to reimburse them amply by the encomiums that he would insert in his books; an attempt, it is added, which was unsuccessful. This tale is sufficiently confuted by the well-known disinterestedness of Luther. The zeal, which was so extensively revived by the Reformation, could not fail to display itself by efforts for the conversion of the ancient people. The works which various Christian writers published against their tenets, were answered by different rabbis of talent and learning, who frequently exhibited great acuteness in making the best of their cause. Several of their treatises were styled by

their authors Nizzachon, or "The Victory," being considered by them as triumphantly refuting the arguments of their opponents.*

It appears that the first arrival of the Jews in Poland was in the year 1096. As soon as the year 1112, the soldiers ransacked their houses at Kiew. In 1264 they were permitted to own real estate, until the death of Kasimir the Great, when their persecutions commenced anew. In the reign of Ladislas Iagiello, (1407,) were announced the edicts of Gnesen, conformably to which they were placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop; forced to wear a mark of distinction, and excluded from all intercourse with Christians. In the year 1464, they suffered much from the Polish crusaders. Sigismond I., in 1506, sheltered Jewish fugitives from Bohemia, but not until he had extorted large sums of money from them, so that the historian Ezaki says, "money began, continued, and closed the persecutions against the Jews." Attempts of the Jews to go to Turkey, were frustrated. In the year 1538, they were absurdly accused of buying cattle in the Wallachia, and selling them abroad, with the intention of impoverishing the country! The clergy demanded their banishment. The Jews defended themselves in writing, in which they showed that Poland was almost destitute of Christian artisans, whilst there were ten thousand Jewish operatives; and for every five hundred Christian merchants, there were three thousand two hundred Jewish. Their money, however, was still a better defence. Sigismond I. decreed that no Jew should hold an office; none act as tax-collector, and none carry on trade in the villages; but every one should pay a double war-tax. Sigismond August imposed on the Jews a yearly poll-tax,

* The most celebrated "Nizzachon" is, however, of an earlier date. It was composed by Lipman, a German Jew, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. It contained an attempt to impugn the truth of the evangelical narratives of our Savior's life, and was refuted by Sebastian Munster, professor of Hebrew at Basle, in a Hebrew version of St. Matthew's Gospel, published at that city. Buxtorf, Syn. Jud., p. 17.

(capitulio,) of one florin, which is now equivalent to one and one half Prussian dollars. Stephen dismissed, once for all, fifteen hundred seventy-six complaints of the Jews for infanticide, although their laws strictly forbid it. During the reign of Sigismond III., the Polish writers, Przeclaw Mojacki, Mieczyoski, and the physician Szleskowski, being jealous of their Jewish colleagues, proceeded against them with an unaccountable hatred. The baptized Jews were ennobled, but without being benefitted thereby. In the reign of Michel, (1672,) the Jews were again pillaged, because they were accused, though falsely, of treason to the Turks. During the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, the office of chief rabbi was suppressed. The Jews were promised exemption from poll-tax, on the condition that they would devote themselves to agriculture; and many Jewish families embraced this opportunity.

The principal edict in Poland relating to the Jews, will ever be that issued by Boleslas, which was towards the middle of the thirteenth century. A charter of his is still extant, which protects them from oppression of every kind, and breathes a wise spirit of toleration, standing in most favorable contrast to the harsh and oppressive enactments of contemporary sovereigns. This deed was confirmed without modification about eighty years afterwards by Casimir, the great-grandson of Boleslas. Though Poland at a later period became remarkable for its toleration of all religious opinions, the Romish clergy, in the first heat of the controversy between Popery and Protestantism, prevailed on the government to forbid the exercise of the reformed faith. This temporary intolerance, however, did not affect the Israelites: unrestricted freedom was continued to them, and in consequence they flourished in a remarkable manner. Forming the only middle class between the nobles and the serfs, they engrossed almost every branch of traffic. In several towns and villages, indeed, they constituted nearly the whole of the population. Nor were they remarkable only for industry, frugality, and wealth; they had also numerous academies, which became the seats of rabbinical erudition,

and produced many distinguished men. Nowhere was the authority of tradition more revered; and nowhere were the persons of their doctors, as the depositaries of that tradition, held in greater respect. It was customary for Jews, from all quarters of Europe, to send their children to be educated in the Polish seminaries; because there they would certainly be instructed in all the learning which it was necessary for them to acquire.

As long as the United Provinces continued under the yoke of Austria or Spain, the Israelites could have little hope of either toleration or favor. It was in the year 1603 that the Jews first arrived in Holland who had been banished by Philip III. They excited suspicion, because they were supposed to be Catholics in disguise. They were more than once taken by surprise in their places of worship; where, however, to the satisfaction of the Government, were found nothing more than scrolls of laws and prayer-books. Soon after, they were permitted to worship God in their own way; in consequence of which, the number of wealthy citizens, and, at the same time, the enemies of Spain, increased. They built an elegant synagogue, which was named, (after its founder, Jacob Tirado,) Beth Jacob. Soon after this, a second one arose, called Newe Schalom, (peace-dwelling,) and several years after a third one was erected, and called Beth Israel. The societies at Amsterdam disagreed in some of their internal affairs, until they were united in the year 1639; when they combined in the erection of a synagogue with the addition of a school, under the name of Thalmud Thora.

They also founded printing establishments at Amsterdam, from whence issued works, which, in respect to beauty and number, were inferior to none in that city. They not only printed in the Hebrew, but alse in the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, and these were composed by Jews.

During these events, the Jews made an attempt to procure new settlements in Brazil. The Dutch had publicly announced, in the year 1641, after a treaty of peace with the Portuguese, that the Jews should be permitted without hin-

drance, to establish a settlement in Brazil. The rabbis, Moses Raphael de Aquilar and Isaac Aboab, moved thither from Amsterdam with six hundred Jews, and founded there, soon after, a society which in a few years flourished by its commerce. Alas! their fortune was of short duration. As soon as the year 1654, the Portuguese gained a decided victory, and the Jews received orders to depart; still their lives and property were saved, and the Portuguese governor gave them adequate time to close their business, and also sixteen vessels to conduct them to their home. They arrived safely at Amsterdam, without any great misfortune, and without having lost a single person; but one of the ships fell into the hands of pirates, was rescued by the French, and brought first to New Holland and finally to Amsterdam, where the two above-named rabbis enjoyed for a long time a great reputation.*

Nor did they in Holland addict themselves to money-making merely; they cultivated learning, and several illustrious men adorned their academies. A distinction was now maintained between the Jews of the south and those of the north; the former being the descendants of the successive refugees from the Peninsula, the latter those whose ancestors had been resident in the country. The former, mindful of the glory of their forefathers during the middle ages, considered themselves as the Hebrew nobility, and sometimes treated their northern brethren with aristocratic haughtiness. But their pretensions were probably ridiculed by their republican neighbors, who were inclined to pay more respect to what they considered the far more honorable distinction, which they frequently acquired by commercial speculations. The riches thus obtained often enabled them to display in their mansions a splendor and luxury, to which the parsimonious habits of even the wealthiest Dutchmen rendered them strangers.

We will now follow our unfortunate Jewish wanderers to the Turkish empire. The following sketch of the state of

* Zeitochrift der Sammler, 1784.

the Jews at Constantinople, is extracted from Nos. 8, 9, and 11, of the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums," for the year 1841 : —

"It is now about three hundred years since, that a number of Spanish Jews having come to Constantinople, applied to the Sultan for permission to settle there. They obtained the permission they sought, but were subjected to many strange restrictions ; they were forbidden to retort an insult received from a Turk, or to fling back a dead body thrown at them ; but if a live dog should be thrown, the Jew might fling it back, being liable, however, to be punished according to law. They found on their arrival, one hundred families of Greek Jews already there, who were extremely poor ; they themselves brought great riches with them. They were allowed to establish a printing press at Constantinople, which proved very advantageous to their brethren in the East, as it enabled them to multiply copies of the sacred books, which had previously become very scarce.

Politically, the Jews at Constantinople occupy the same station as the other Rayahs. Their number is estimated at sixty thousand ; there are several thousand families in each of the following quarters : Ballat, Chaskoi, Ortakoi, Kuskunick, and Galata ; in other quarters there are some hundreds ; but in Pera, Therapia, and Bujukdere, there are no Jews to be found. You immediately know a Jewish house by its appearance of decay, broken windows, and more especially by the linen hanging out of the windows to dry. Even the house of the richest Jew forms no exception to this last-mentioned custom ; for, on account of the frequent conflagrations, nobody keeps a large supply of linen, and the great heat makes frequent washing necessary ; but while the rest of the inhabitants hang their linen up for drying in the hall, the Jews hang it out of the window.

The Jews of Constantinople are partly employed as mechanics and tradesmen. They employ exclusively persons of their own nation, as masons, carpenters, smiths, &c. Some branches of business are confined entirely to the Jews, such as glass-grinding and diamond-cutting. They are also

brokers, especially for Christian merchants; and are, in fact, the most skilful and active, without whom the Christian merchant could not transact business. They are besides, victuallers and dealers of every kind. The Jews are compelled to wear dark colored garments and blue shoes, as the Greeks wear black shoes, the Armenians red, and the Turks only yellow ones.

All the Jews of Constantinople are placed under the authority of a Khakham Pasha, who represents his community at the Porte, collects the haradsh, administers justice, and has the power of life and death among his own nation. His rank is equal to that of the Patriarchs of the other Rayahs; and he takes even precedence of them at court. He is assisted in his office by a Synedrium of Khakhams. The chiefs of the various congregations elect a person to fill the office, and endeavor always to select one whom they think likely to submit to their influence, they even exact a promise to this effect; their choice is generally confirmed by the Porte. The salary of the Khakham Pasha is very small, about two thousand piastres; but he receives many presents. He issues excommunications, and releases again from them. Woe to the Jew who neglects any of the religious observances,—he may be sure of the bastinado.

The Jews here cannot be called rich. If a few are rich, they are surrounded by an immense number of the middle classes, and by those who live in extreme poverty. Yet they have no special institutions for the poor. There exists a hospital for those attacked by the plague, but it is not in a very good condition. They have the reputation of being honest; and they certainly are so, at least if compared with the Greeks and Armenians. The Jews are liable to military service; and, if required, the Khakham is bound to furnish three thousand soldiers. Although the Jews have always been willing to serve, the Greeks and Armenians have hitherto prevented it.

Every quarter, with the exception of the three abovementioned, having a distinct congregation, has also a principal synagogue, besides a great number of small ones, and

the private place of worship which every rich merchant has in his own house. A Khakham is appointed to each. The service is conducted with much greater solemnity, and better order, than is usually found in the German synagogues.

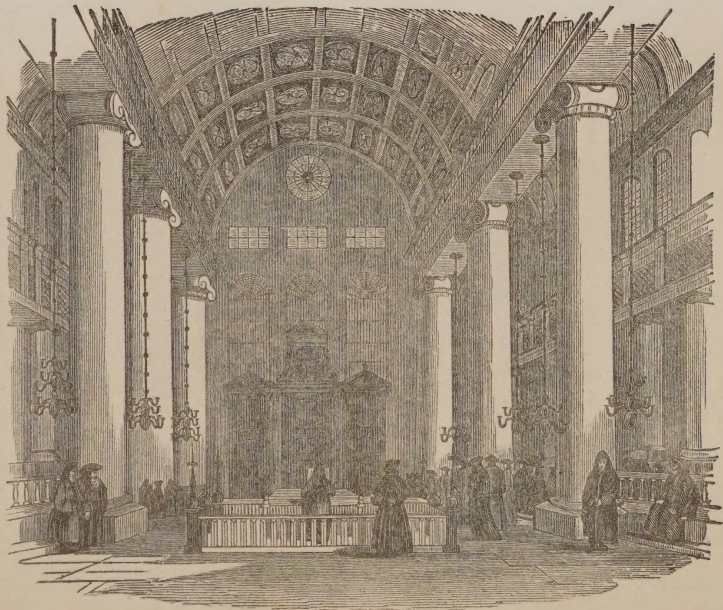
A school is attached to each synagogue; and a more strange appearance than the school-room presents, cannot be imagined. The teacher sits on a wool-sack, at the upper end of a room destitute of every kind of furniture, with crossed legs, and a cane in his hand; around him are perched from fifty to sixty children on the bare earth. All they are taught is—to read Hebrew. It must, however, be admitted that they are taught this admirably. The children attend this school until their eighth year. They are then afterwards brought up to some business, or sent to the Beth Hamidrash, in order to become Khakhams.

Their religious observances are very regularly attended to. Certainly, nobody will be found publicly transgressing against the laws relating to the Sabbath, or forbidden food. It must, however, be observed, that all these ceremonial laws are not, by far, so severe as those of the German Jews; and that they laugh at many things which are scrupulously attended to by their German brethren."

CHAPTER XVII.

Flourishing State of the Jews in Holland—Manasseh ben Israel—His unsuccessful Attempt to prevail upon the English Government to re-admit the Jews—They are re-admitted under Charles II.—Esdras of Hamburgh converts many to the Christian Faith—Leopold I. expels the Jews from Vienna, but afterwards allows them to return—Adventures of Sabbathai Sevi, a false Messiah—Sect of the Sabbathaites—The Zoharites—Mysterious Character of Frank, their Founder—Remarkable Sect of the Chasidim—Their Opinions and Customs—The Jews oppressed by Frederick the Great of Prussia—Tumults in England on occasion of a Bill for their Naturalization—Career of Moses Mendelshon—The "Jerusalem" and the "Phaedon"—Wesseley and Friedlander—Privileges granted to the Jews by Joseph II.—The Callenberg Institution, the first Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews—Its Labors and Extinction—Efforts of the Moravians—The Jews re-admitted into France by the Revolution—Napoleon assembles the Grand Sanhedrim—His unsuccessful Efforts to make Political Tools of the Jews.—From A. D. 1560 to A. D. 1806.

We have thus brought down the history of the Jews to the beginning of the seventeenth century, at which time they were excluded by law from England, France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, and various parts of Germany. They enjoyed toleration in Poland and Turkey, (if toleration it may be called) and were beginning to share in the prosperity which the United Provinces had been gradually acquiring, since they had succeeded in establishing their political independence. In these last mentioned countries, if they possessed not the confidence of kings, or vied in splendor with nobles, or produced rabbis whose learning might rival that of Aben Ezra or Maimonides—if, in short, they could not flatter themselves that they enjoyed, or were likely to enjoy, any thing resembling a second "Golden Age," they had at least reason to be thankful that they were allowed the means of acquiring wealth, the just reward of their unwearied industry. They were no longer in exclusive possession, either of the medical skill or the commercial habits, which



INTERIOR OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE AT AMSTERDAM.

had so greatly distinguished them in the middle ages; for Europe, having awakened from her long repose, the Christian nations were vying with one another in activity, industry, and science. But if many opportunities were thus denied them of growing rich by outstripping their semi-barbarous neighbors, they might congratulate themselves that, generally speaking, they were exempted from those terrible outbursts of priestly and popular fanaticism, under which their ancestors had so often groaned. With respect to the states from which they were still excluded, they might entertain a reasonable hope that the progress of knowledge and liberality of sentiment would gradually break down the influence of the most deeply rooted prejudices. The rulers of those countries would, it was probable, ere long, be brought to see that it was their true policy to make no distinction of religious belief in their dominions, and to encourage the peaceful and industrious of every creed.

In Holland the Jews continued to flourish during the seventeenth century; and their synagogue at Amsterdam produced several distinguished men. One of the most celebrated of these was Manasseh ben Israel, a descendant of Abarbanel, and born in Spain about the year 1604. So high, indeed, was his reputation, that at the age of eighteen he was appointed to succeed his tutor, Isaac Usiel, as expounder of the Talmud, in the great synagogue. At twenty-eight he published the first part of a treatise, written in Spanish, and entitled "Conciliador* nel Pentateucho," in

* Extract from R. Menasseh's Conciliador: R. Menasseh gives the following interesting summary of facts, which form an appropriate illustration of the solemn declaration contained in Jer. ii. 3: "All that devour him," i. e. Israel, "will offend: evil shall come upon them, saith the Lord."

All the other prophets, and actual experience, prove the same; for we see those cities where the people of Israel are treated kindly, flourish, and the nations and states that maltreat them generally suffer. That most powerful Babylonion empire, to which all the kings of the earth were subservient, and the Lord selected Nebuchadnezzar as the rod of his punishment, yet how short was its felicty. Look at the miserable termination of that monarchy. The Persians were subjugated by the Greeks. Ha-

which he labors with great acuteness to explain the difficulties and seeming contradictions of Scripture. This treatise was particularly recommended by Grotius to the attention of biblical scholars. He likewise wrote a work on the resur-

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man, who, with his friends, conspired against the Jews, how soon their glory vanished, and their lives paid the forfeit. Antiochus Epiphanes, who tyrannized over them, what a spectacle was his death; he not only lost his life by being crushed under the wheels of a carriage, but the stench that arose from his body compelled those who accompanied him to flee, leaving him to perish, and terminate his existence in a foreign land. Pompey, who reduced Judea to a province, and rendered her tributary to Rome,—let the fields of Pharsalia, where the chief of the Roman youth perished, relate his end: he who had so often triumphed perished by the hand of an assassin whose favor he sought in his flight. What troubles and misfortunes did not Rome experience from that period? Read the Roman history. The civil wars between Pompey and Cæsar cost the lives of nearly three hundred thousand men; and those of Brutus, Cassius, and Sextus Pompey yet more. What can be said of the Triumvirate? How many senators did they incarcerate? How many nobles did they deprive of life? Cato and Brutus killed themselves. Most of the emperors after Augustus Cæsar fell victims to treason and treachery. Let Nero, Caligula, Galba, Otho, and Vitellus say. Did Titus, who shed such torrents of Jewish blood, enjoy his empire? Certainly not: in the flower of his age, in the meridian of his glory, he terminated his life, confessing himself guilty of only one sin, (probably his conduct towards Judea,) for which, in the Roman way of speaking, he said that the gods cut the thread of his existence. Adrian, who subsequently made an end of the remains, did not go unpunished; in a protracted illness, to put an end to his existence, he starved himself to death; and the major part of the emperors that succeeded him were assassinated. All this not being enough, in the reign of Aurelius the Lord punished the Roman people with the most devastating plague that has ever been known. Turning to Spain, we find similar examples. Sizebut, who was the first to destroy the happiness they enjoyed, was shortly after poisoned. Ferdinand and Isabella were not left unpunished; she, after suffering a disgraceful and incurable disease, died without a legitimate successor. John II. of Portugal, who deprived them of their children, during the festivities on the occasion of the marriage of his only son, Alphonso, with a daughter of Ferdinand of Castile, lost him; for in running a race he was thrown from his horse, and expired the following day: the king himself was carried off by poison not long after, and the kingdom devolved on his bitterest enemy. Portugal paid dearly for Manuel forcing many Jews to be baptized; in the fourth

rection, as well as various pieces relating to the rites and customs of the Jews. It is said that he intended to compose a history of his brethren, which should embrace the whole period between the destruction of Jerusalem and his own time ; and it is much to be regretted that death arrested this undertaking, after but a slight progress had been made in it. Aspiring likewise to poetical fame, he translated Phocylides into Spanish verse. Unfortunately, however, he aimed at success in too many things ; and not content with questions of Judaical theology, he published an unsatisfactory work on the controversy then raging in Holland between the Calvinists and Arminians.

Towards the close of his life, Manasseh occupied himself in endeavoring to procure for his countrymen permission to settle in England. The monarchy having been overthrown, and the sovereign power vested in the hands of Cromwell, he thought that a period in which so much had been swept away, was favorable to an attempt to rescind the edict of Edward the First, which had banished the Jews. He therefore presented a petition to the Protector, in which he intimated his belief that the wily soldier had been specially

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generation the king and most of the nobility perished by the hands of the barbarous Moors. Philip of France, who first confiscated their property, and then banished them, was thrown from his horse in a stag hunt, and died from the injury he sustained. Shortly after they were banished from England, the Lord visited it with a plague that carried off thousands, so that the country was greatly depopulated. These truths are evident proofs of the prophecy of Jeremiah being certain : " Holiness is Israel to the Lord, the first fruit of his increase ; all that devour him will offend ; evil shall come upon them, saith the Lord ;" and by which is seen the incorrectness of other versions ; for the Hebrew text is not in the past, " holiness was ... all that devoured him evil came to them," but in the present and future tenses, as translated above. The ancients say the prophet Ezekiel compares the children of Israel to sheep ; but that it might not seem they were exposed to any one leading them to slaughter he continues, as sheep of Holiness, " ye are sheep of one flock ; " because, as a person who touches the sacred sheep dedicated to God were condemnable, so are those who molest Israel ; for, as the Lord says by the prophet Zechariah, " He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye."

appointed by Divine Providence to the honorable situation which he now filled ; and requested him to employ his influence in promoting the recall of God's ancient people, whose enemies, he alleged, had never prospered in the end. Another petition was addressed to the chief men of the Commonwealth ; and in it the rabbi mingled much praise on the humanity of the English nation, with an exposition of the advantages that would result from the admission of his brethren into a country from which they had been so long excluded. Cromwell summoned a council of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen ministers ; to debate, first, whether it were lawful to admit the Jews, and secondly, if it were lawful, on what conditions it would be advisable to receive them. The lawyers pronounced at once that the proposed measure was legal ; the citizens were dvided in opinion ; but the divines discussed the matter so long and so inconclusively, that, Oliver's patience being quite exhausted, he adjourned the decision of the question to a more favorable occasion. It is a curious fact, that the republican writer, Harrington, in his Oceana, gravely proposes to rid England of the burden of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Israelites. But the general sentiment of the period was far from being favorable to the re-admission of the Jews, owing to the still deep-rooted prejudices against them.* Extravagant stories in regard to the conditions which they were supposed to have made with the Protector were propagated and believed. For example, it was confidently asserted that they had offered him five hundred thousand pounds, on condition of obtaining St. Paul's as their synagogue ; and the notorious Hugh Peters was pointed out as one of the promoters of this scandalous bargain. Another equally groundless fiction was promul-

* Even truly excellent men in that age evinced, when speaking of the Jews, their subjection to the prejudices which prevailed. Thus Bishop Hall, while inculcating the obligation to pray for them, calls them "miscreant Jews," (*Christian Moderation*, book ii. sect. 14 ;) and Sir Thomas Browne gives them the appellation of "that contemptible and degenerate issue of Jacob."—*Religio Medici*, edit. 1838, p. 51.

gated, to the effect that the Asiatic Jews had sent a deputation to his Highness, to inquire if he were not the Messiah; and that they actually went to Huntingdon to search his pedigree, and discover if he could not claim Hebrew descent. It is probable that the aversion of the people to the re-admission of the Jews made Cromwell avail himself of the discordant judgment of the citizens and divines mentioned above, as a fair pretext for declining to give any effect to the application of Manasseh ben Israel. He felt that his position was too insecure to admit of his setting at defiance the well known opinions of a very large portion of the inhabitants of Great Britain. But although the petitioners failed in this application, they were more fortunate in the reign of Charles II. Probably owing to the convenience arising from their constant supply of ready money to that needy monarch, they were quietly allowed to settle in the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their ground.*

We return to the Jews of Holland. Although many learned men, who rivalled the fame of Ben Israel, issued from the school of Amsterdam, yet the most remarkable person whom it produced was Benedict Spinosa, the founder of modern atheism, who was born in 1632. He followed the occupation of grinding optical glasses, and thereby procured the means of living in a frugal manner which was agreeable to his simple habits. When, in consequence of his atheistical opinions, he forsook the synagogue, the rabbis fulminated against him the Schammath or greater excommunication; and it is said that they even attempted his life. Not thinking himself safe in his native city, he retired, first to Leyden, and afterwards to the Hague, where he appears to have died in 1677, at the age of forty-five. Detestable as his irreligious principles were, his conduct was always decent and moral; and hence he was regarded with affection and respect by his intimate friends. Some eccentric habits, in which he indulged, had in-

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxxii. p. 740.

duced modern writers to suspect that he was partially in sane. His ruling passion seems to have been the love of fame; and, says Bayle, "he would have sacrificed his life to glory, even if he should have been torn in pieces by the mob." *

The atheistical tenets of Spinosa, which, though he never had the courage openly to avow them, might easily be discerned by those who read his works with attention, were combatted both by Christian and Jewish authors. The most distinguished of the latter class of antagonists was a Spaniard, called Don Balthasar Orobio, who, after his circumcision, changed his name to Ishak. This man, who had originally, like his ancestors, professed the Romish faith, for the advancement of his secular interest, studied philosophy, and became professor of metaphysics in the University of Salamanca. He next practised medicine at Seville, but was there seized by the Inquisition, upon suspicion that he secretly adhered to Judaism. He was kept in confinement three whole years, during which he was almost driven to madness by the ill usage to which he was subjected. He still continued, however, to profess himself a Christian. After his release, he left Spain, and travelled into France, where he obtained the professorship of physic at Toulouse. But he grew weary or ashamed of concealing his real opinions and retired to Holland, where he could profess them without danger to life, liberty, or property. He fixed his residence at Amsterdam, where he submitted to circumcision, and practised as a physician with great skill and success. He endeavored, by answering Spinosa's arguments, to arrest their progress in that country.

But Orobio did not content himself with combating atheistical doctrines only; he had a conference with Limborch, the learned professor of theology among the Arminians or Remonstrants. In this debate it is acknowledged that the

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxxii. pp. 741, 742. Mosheim, cent. xvii. sect. 1. Stewart's Preliminary Dissertation to the Encyclopedia Brittanica, pp. 144, 145, 264, 265.

disputants acquitted themselves with talent; and the published report of it is regarded as a standard work upon the Jewish controversy. Both parties retained their previous convictions; and it does not appear that any great effect was produced by Limborch's arguments. The exertions of a converted rabbi, named Esdras, at Hamburgh, (called, from the number of Jews resident there, "the Little Jerusalem,") were more successful. His labors, which were carried on about the year 1690, were attended by such happy results, that bishop Kidder, a contemporary, states, in his Demonstration of the Messias, "there have not been so many conversions of the Jews, since the time of miracles, as Esdras made at Hamburg." A divine of that city, whose zeal exceeded his judgment, imagined that more of these changes would take place if violence were attempted against the refractory; but the magistrates wisely paid no attention to his earnest efforts to induce them to commence a persecution.

During the thirty years' war, the Bohemian Jews behaved with great bravery in the defence of Prague against the combined forces of the Swedes and German Protestants; but, like the Egyptians of old, they have forgotten their benefactors.* In return for this demonstration of loyalty, the

* The "Augsburger Zeitung" reports, that on the 8th July a riot was caused by the railway laborers at Prague, the object of which was to obtain higher wages. On the rioters being dispersed by the military, "the populace," says the above (Christian) paper, "as customary, turned its fury against the Jews; many individuals were ill used in the streets, and considerable devastation of property committed, under the eyes of the police, who were unable to prevent the outrage. Not until the evening was far advanced were energetic measures adopted for the restoration of order and tranquillity." A letter from Prague, dated July 10th, in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," states that the exasperation of the people against the Jews was then at its height, and that several companies of soldiers had been stationed in their quarters.

The "Archives Israelites," for August, after quoting the above, has the following:

"Some days ago, the public papers announced that two thousand Israelites had left Prague, in consequence of the aggressions of the populace,

Emperor Ferdinand III. granted them various privileges. About the middle of the seventeenth century, a rabbi named Zechariah obtained permission from Leopold I. to build a synagogue at Vienna, and open a school there. But, a few years afterwards, he withdrew his protection, drove them from the city, and seized their edifice, in order to convert it into a church. The Jewish writers assert that this persecution was occasioned by the bigotry of the empress, who persuaded her husband that her barrenness was a punishment inflicted by God for the toleration which he had extended to the Israelites. They add, that the Almighty avenged his chosen people, by causing her, soon afterwards, to die in child-bed. After her death, they were allowed to resume the quarters at Vienna; but they were still occasionally exposed to injury from outbursts of popular fanaticism.

By far the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of the Jews, during the seventeenth century, was the appearance of the false Messiah, Sabbathai Sevi. Impostors had arisen from time to time among them, in every age from the destruction of Jerusalem, and had practised, with more or less success, upon the credulity of their contemporaries. The exploits of those who appeared during the middle ages have been transmitted to us in so exaggerated a form, that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon them. But the extraordinary circumstances which marked the career of Sabbathai, and the full information which we possess on the subject, induce us to speak of him at greater length.

This singular man, born in 1625, was the younger son of Mordecai Sevi, who was first a poulterer at Smyrna or Aleppo (for accounts vary,) and afterwards became broker

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to which they had been subjected; that from several other villages in Hungary the Israelites have been expelled, and the portrait of M. Rothschild torn in pieces by these barbarian hordes."

The "Orient," of July 23d, in referring to these excesses, mentioned in particular the destruction of a shop in Prague, belonging to a Jew; the perpetrators of which, on being seized and brought before the magistrates, stated that they had been paid by Christian merchants to direct their fury against the Jews.

to some English merchants. He made such progress in the study of the Cabala, that he was appointed a hakim or rabbi in his eighteenth year, and soon after began to distinguish himself by the frequency of his fasts and the general austerity of his life. He married twice, but declined all conjugal intercourse with both his wives. This unusual conduct was ascribed to different motives, according to the favorable or unfavorable opinion which his neighbors had formed of him. He now devoted all his thoughts to the study of prophecy, and soon proclaimed that he was the long-expected Messiah. He applied to himself the words of Isaiah, xiv. 14, "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds;" and actually one day asked his disciples whether they had not seen him carried up into the air. He accused of unbelief those who refused to acknowledge that they had witnessed his miraculous ascent. As a proof of his divine mission, he ventured to pronounce the ineffable name, Jehovah. The rabbis, struck with horror at this impious boldness, cited him to appear before them, declared him worthy of death, and applied to the Turkish authorities to procure the execution of their sentence. The condemned fled to Thessalonica; but the doctors there having obliged him to depart, he passed through Greece and Egypt, on his way to Jerusalem. As he remained a short time at Gaza, he made an important proselyte, in the person of Nathan Benjamin, who declared that he had seen a vision of the Lord, similar to that which appeared to the prophet Ezekiel at the river of Chebar, and had heard Sabbathai declared by the voice of God to be the Messiah. In Jerusalem, Sevi preached with great success; and Nathan acted as his coadjutor, proclaiming himself to be Elias the forerunner, and boldly predicting, that ere long the crown of empire would be snatched from the head of the sultan, and placed upon that of the son of David.

Leaving the holy city, after a residence of several years, he returned to Egypt, where he married a woman, represented by his enemies as of very indifferent character, but asserted by his followers to have been marked out by the

most astonishing miracles as the destined bride of the Anointed. After his marriage, he again repaired to the capital of Judea, where, emboldened by his previous success, he went into the synagogue, and proclaimed himself to be the Deliverer. The rabbis denounced him as a blasphemous imposter, excommunicated him, and constrained him to leave the city. He fled to his native place, Smyrna, where his pretensions had been formerly scouted by the learned; and there he now met with the most determined opposition from the same quarter. But the people were with him, being gained over by the plausibility of his discourses, and the seeming sanctity of his life. Various attempts were made by the rabbis to destroy his influence, and even to put him to death; but the enthusiasm of the multitude prevailed, aided by the cadi of Smyrna, who had been induced, probably by bribes, to lend his countenance to the deceiver. A great impression was made in his favor by the sudden death of Amakia, a Jew of rank and consequence, who had publicly denounced him as a mere pretender; an event which was regarded as a judgment from Heaven, for his rejection of the claims of the true Messiah.

Sabbathai now assumed the pomp of royalty. He took the name of king of the kings of the earth, and conferred on his two brothers the title of sovereigns of Israel and Judah. A throne was erected for him, and another for his consort; and when he went in procession, a banner was borne before him, inscribed with the words, "The right hand of the Lord is exalted." A public prayer was offered up in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged to be the expected messenger from heaven. Men and women, youths and maidens, in various parts of the Turkish empire, assumed the character of prophets and prophetesses; and were said to have miraculously acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, of which the first use they made was to utter the words, "Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah, of the race of David: to him the crown and the kingdom are given." These frantic ravings, which were accompanied with certain uncouth gestures, like those exhibited by the

Pythia of old, were looked upon as accomplishments of the ever-memorable words of Joel : " I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." The greatest excitement prevailed among the Jews throughout Europe and Asia, from the wealthy merchants at Amsterdam down to the poor husbandmen of Persia. The course of business was interrupted ; the most inveterate usurers, the most plodding traders, forgot for a time their engrossing occupations, to discuss the pretensions of the self-styled Messiah. Those who were able to afford it, eagerly sent valuable presents to his court in acknowledgment of the justice of his claims to the dominion of the earth, and the possession of its richest products. At Smyrna, it was so dangerous even to hint a doubt of the validity of his pretensions, that a distinguished rabbi, who refused to re-echo the popular cry, preserved his life only by a timely flight.

Sabbathai was constantly urged by his zealous partisans not to rest contented with the homage of the people of Smyrna, but boldly to proceed to Constantinople, and deprive the grand seignior of the crown, which rightfully belonged to the Son of David. Finding it impossible to resist any longer the importunity of his friends, he set out for the capital in a small vessel ; while a number of Jews proceeded thither by land, to witness the triumph of their leader, which they so confidently expected. When the impostor arrived, the vizier having received instructions from the sultan, who was absent, sent an aga with a body of Janissaries to apprehend him ; but we are told that first this officer, and then another who was despatched on the same errand, returned trembling, and declaring that they could not venture to lay hands on a personage whose countenance beamed with an awful glory, like that of an angel. The Jew, however, thought proper to save his highness further trouble by surrendering himself voluntarily ; and he was committed to the castle of Sestos, where, being kept without any harshness of treatment, he was allowed to have free intercourse with

his partisans, who flocked from all quarters to visit him. He issued a manifesto, in which he suspended the fast usually kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem; and ordered the day to be celebrated with the utmost marks of rejoicing, as the birth-day of the Messiah. He likewise despatched ambassadors into various countries, to proclaim that he was the promised deliverer of Israel, and to recount the various miracles which he had wrought and still continued to perform.

The homage which he continued, even in the seclusion of his prison, to receive, might have given him unmixed pleasure, if he had not been exposed to the hostility of Nehemiah Sosen, a Polish Jew, who, obstinately refusing to acknowledge the justice of his claims, became a Mohammedan in order to save his life, which was threatened by the partisans of the impostor. He was taken under the protection of the Turkish authorities, and sent to Adrianople, where the sultan was then residing. Probably by his representation Sevi was sent for, and ushered into the presence of that sovereign whose crown he had so often declared that he would place on his own brow. The false Messiah was ignorant of Turkish, the grand seignior was equally unacquainted with Hebrew, and a Jewish renegade was appointed to act as interpreter. Showing no marks of that awful majesty which had struck terror into the two agas of the grand vizier, he stood in trembling silence before the monarch whose power at a distance he had insolently defied. The sultan asked him if he were the Messiah; but the impostor was too much paralyzed by terror to make any reply. Nor were his fears groundless, for the grand seignior told him that he would shoot three poisoned arrows at him to test his pretensions, and ascertain whether he were invulnerable, as became the Deliverer; adding that, if he passed through this ordeal in safety, he himself would acknowledge him as the Son of David. But if he did not choose to submit to so reasonable a requisition, he must either embrace Mohammedanism or suffer death. This was a frightful alternative, and it must have been indeed a desperate fanaticism which

could in such circumstances maintain itself in composure The interpreter urged him to save his life by abjuring his faith ; and he did not hesitate long, but uttered the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman." It might have been expected that his majesty would have dismissed him with contempt ; but, instead of doing so, he conferred the usual distinction of a pelisse of honor, and gave him the title of Capidigi Pasha. When the news of Sabbathai's conversion to Islamism spread abroad, his followers were struck with consternation ; but he alleged that his change had taken place by the express command of God, and quoted the tradition which said, "that the Messiah must remain some time among the unbelievers." He likewise affirmed that the words of Isaiah, "he was numbered with the transgressors," predicted the temporary acknowledgment of the Mohammedan faith which he had recently made. Many of the Jews, thinking that they could not err in following their Messiah, also embraced the same creed. The rabbis not knowing to what extent the defection might spread, conceived that the best course which they could adopt was to get rid of Sevi altogether ; and therefore they contrived to insinuate suspicions of him into the ear of the sultan, who caused him to be confined in the castle of Belgrade, where he died in the year 1676, in the fiftieth year of his age.

The extent to which human credulity will go, has seldom been so well exemplified as in the case of this individual. His partisans were not staggered by his apostacy, but readily received the explanation which he gave of it. They did not even abandon his cause at his death, but obstinately asserted that he had been translated to heaven, like Enoch and Elijah. The sect of the Sabbathaites spread in every direction, although the most vigorous efforts were made by the rabbis to counteract its progress. The devoted attachment of Nathan of Gaza had given way, when he heard of Sevi's embracing the Mussulman religion ; and he endeavored to convince his Jewish brethren that his former friend was a mere pretender to the title of the Deliverer. But

this loss was in some measure counterbalanced by a far more extraordinary change. Nehemiah Cosen, the most inveterate antagonist of Sabbathai—who had scouted his pretensions when he could only do so at the hazard of his life; and had, it is believed in a great measure, contribu ted to that stroke of policy on the part of the sultan which unmasked the real character of the deceiver—saw it expe dient, for some reason or another, to change his opinions, and became a warm admirer and partisan of the man whom he had once held up to public scorn as an audacious impostor. Speculation busied itself with conjecturing the period at which the Messiah would re-appear. One prophet affirmed with confidence, that Israel would again behold her deliverer in the space of one hundred and eleven and one third years. A more extravagant prediction was uttered by a Jew named Michael Cordoso, and met with great acceptation in Mohammedan countries, especially in the states of Barbary. He alleged that the Son of David would not come again until all the descendants of Abraham were either righteous or wicked; and, as he thought that the latter alternative was the more easy to be attained, he exhorted them all to embrace Mohammedanism. A number of Israelites, on this absurd pretext, renounced the religion of their fathers. The Sabbathaites still exist as one of the Jewish sects; but they are supposed to have been kept together rather by a hereditary pride than by any well-defined system of belief.*

About the middle of the seventeenth century, an adventurer of the name of Frank, who possessed considerable learning, having organized a sect out of the remains of the followers of Sabbathai, gave to it the appellation of Zoharites, from a rabbinical work of ancient date, called the Zohar,† which he taught his followers to regard with great reverence. This new body had some leanings towards Christianity; they admitted the doctrines of the Trinity and

* Basnage, book vii. chap. xxiii. p. 701—703. Milman, vol. iii. Dep ping, pp. 538, 539.

† See Appendix.

the Incarnation, but did not state whether they considered Jesus Christ or Sevi as the Son of God. They rejected the Talmud, but strenuously maintained that a mystical sense pervaded the Scriptures. Frank lived in various parts of Germany, in a style of the utmost magnificence ; while the manner in which he obtained the riches, undoubtedly possessed by him, was kept so profound a secret, that no one to this day has been able to penetrate it. He afterwards embraced the Romish faith, and regularly attended mass with much pomp. His partisans, who were numerous, believed him to be immortal ; but, in 1791, he died, and was buried with royal splendor, eight hundred persons following his corpse to the grave. The mystery attending his wealth seems to have been deposited with him in the tomb ; for his family sunk into destitution, and, to keep themselves from starving, were obliged to have recourse to the most menial labors. The Frankists still exist, but are by no means in a flourishing state.

In the eighteenth century, the head-quarters of the Jews might be said to be in Poland, for there they were most numerous. They devoted themselves to nearly every branch of trade, but showed a great aversion to agriculture. The same country was also the chief seat of rabbinism, which possessed less influence over the minds of the Israelites in other parts of Europe. The peasantry, too, were in a state of the grossest ignorance ; and, imperfect as we may consider the education which the Jews received, it at least sufficed to give them a great advantage over their uninstructed neighbors. Poland, in this century, gave birth to a remarkable body, which continues to the present day, that of the Chasidim. The word Chasidim, or the Pious, is evidently derived from grace, or favor. It appears, however, according to some learned Jews, that originally it was equivalent to our word supererogation, and in this sense it was, no doubt, adopted by this people, and applied to themselves.

In the infancy of this sect, they entirely withdrew from the pleasure and the bustle of the world, to a life of the strictest self-denial and mortification ; assuming upon this

ground to commend themselves to the favor of God, and eventually to gain heaven. To this end they fasted much, often seven or eight successive days without taking any nourishment at all; and even when they did eat, they not only abstained from all flesh, but from every thing that came from living animals, as eggs, butter, cheese, honey, and the like. They wore a rough dress of hair upon the naked body, and bathed themselves in the severest winters, at midnight, in the rivers, even when the ice was obliged to be broken for the purpose; in winter often rolling themselves in snow, in summer in thorns; wandering about perpetually, never remaining more than one night in a place.* By these austerities many are said to have lost their senses, and some their lives.

These men applied themselves assiduously to the study of the Cabbala, imagining that these austerities were the only key to the acquirement of this divine science. The founder of this sect is known among the Jews by the name Bescht, in which word are the initial letters, by which is understood, a man who has great power with God and the angels, and a man celebrated for his supernatural gifts; he was also called Israel.

The year in which Bescht was born does not appear to be given in his narrative, but it is said that he lived in Tluzsty in Poland, in the year 1740; that he was the child of promise foretold by the prophet Elias, and named by him, Israel, long before he was born, because that he should one day enlighten the eyes of the people of Israel.

The father of Bescht appears to have been a man of singular fortune: he was plundered of his property in Walachia, where he then lived; was dragged forth to a distant land and sold as a slave; became afterwards field marshall, prime minister, and at last a beggar; was more than a hundred years old when Bescht was born, and his mother nearly as much.

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* This unsettled life was enjoined to atone for sin, because God said to Cain, "A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth."

Bescht, mindful of the saying of the prophet, strove with all the energy of mind which he possessed, to accomplish the prediction. He applied himself closely to the study of the Cabbala, and soon ranked among the saints. He affirmed that his soul often left his body, and soared aloft to the regions of spirits, and there learned what the heavenly senate had determined for the lower world; that he had power to sway their counsels when they were unfavorable.

The works and wonderful adventures of this man are related in a book printed in Berditschef, anno 1814, which was so much read by this sect, that in the year 1818 three large editions were sold off. Another book written by him, and published by his grand-son, is also much read, containing rules of conduct, faith, &c. In the preface of this book it is said by the publisher, "It is our duty to make known to all the members of our communion, the glory of our Zaddik, now, alas! extinguished light of Israel. Blessed be the memory of this holy man and saint, that he has strictly commanded this book to be read unceasingly, and never to let the words contained in it depart from our mouths, because on this depends our happiness, both in this world and the next. He wrote it in his own hand, in pocket form, and requested that it might be printed in this form, that every one might always have it by him, and be continually learning wisdom from it."

In vain did the most celebrated rabbis of that time oppose this sect, and thunder out their anathemas against them; they increased rapidly in the storm of persecution, and became very numerous in Poland, Russia, Walachia, Moldavia, and soon after in Galatia. The extraordinary influence of Bescht with the heavenly bodies, enabled him, as it was asserted, to perform wonderful cures; barren women were made fruitful, the dead raised, the condemned in hell delivered, souls transmigrated into beasts set at liberty, prayers which could find no access in heaven were heard and accepted, and those that doubted of his supernatural gifts, were severely chastised. It cost him only a word, and the speaker became dumb, and the lame were healed. He

needed only to move his hand, and immediately the blind were restored to sight, and the seeing made blind. In order that his people might be held together, he wrote another book, entitled the Testament of R. Israel Baalshem. In each of his books he makes the doctrines of the Sohar the basis; recommends a contemplative life, an abstractedness from all earthly things; implicit obedience to the will and commands of their chief, (Zaddik,) as the representative of God.

After the death of Bescht, in the year 1780, his children not inheriting the honors of their father, his disciples scattered themselves in different parts, by which means his doctrines became more known: yet his descendants to the present day have always been considered as the nobles of their people, and an alliance with any branch of the family by marriage is an honor which the richest Jew among them thinks himself happy beyond measure to accomplish.

The following are extracts from the dogmas, &c., of the Chasidim:—

"The foundation of faith is faith in the Zaddik: to him the greatest reverence is due. Should it sometimes appear that the Zaddik's conduct is in opposition to the law of God, yet the people must believe that he does what is right; for the laws are given to the wise to interpret at all times according to their pleasure. The Zaddik is at liberty even to abrogate the law, and to institute new ones in its stead.

"In judging of the Zaddik, the Chasid is bound to renounce his reason and conviction, and implicitly to bow to the opinion of the Zaddik: so long as any one thinks that he possesses a judgment of his own, and is capable of acting for himself, so long is his attachment to the Zaddik not perfect. Those only can arrive at this excellent degree of piety, who renounce their own reason, feelings and experience, and adopt in all things, implicitly, the will of the Zaddik.

"The Zaddik must be to the Chasid the first existing being. He must not only be to him more than all men, but more than God, because God has made over to the Zaddik the government of this world.

"When the prophet Isaiah says, 'All thy children shall be taught of the Lord,' he means all the children of the Zaddikim, for these teach God what he has to do."

That God takes pleasure in being contradicted by the Zaddik, the Chasidim prove in the following way:—

"When a father orders his son to do any thing, and the son sees it would not be well to comply with the request, and convinces the father of his error, the father rejoices at the wisdom of his son, and willingly subjects his own opinion to that of his son. So it often happens with God and the Zaddik. Solomon refers to this in the Proverbs, xxvii., 'My Son, be wise and make my heart glad, that I may answer him that reproacheth me.'"

"The Zaddik is a supernatural being."—*K. Shimlab, s.* 18.

"The Zaddik has power to appoint every one his place in heaven or hell, as he may see fit."—*Seph. Hamedath.*

"The most effectual means for barren women to become fruitful is, to delight in hearing the Zaddik praised."—*K. Lik. Mehran*, 266.

"The only way for a sinner to obtain pardon from God is, unceasingly to endeavor with all his might to increase the income of the Zaddik."—*Seph. Hamid.*, s. 141.

"Whoever makes the Zaddik a pleasure, his prayers will certainly be heard."—*Seph. Hamid.*, viii. 10.

"Let every one take good heed of looking into any book upon human science, even should it be written by the most learned man in Israel. All profane sciences are dangerous to the holy faith. We have often mentioned this circumstance, but we cannot sufficiently warn the righteous, lest by a peep into such books he should lose his salvation."—*Lik. Mahran Tengana*, s. 39.

"All languages except the Hebrew are imperfect; for although in each language every thing has a name, yet this name is not the right one. That name only which God has given to every thing in Hebrew is the name of it."—*Lik. Amor*, s. 31.

"Whoever understands to pray to God aright, needs neither physician nor medicine; he is able by the most sim-

ple means, even by bread and water, to cure the most stubborn disease.

"The chief remedy used to cure the sick is the Pidion. The law forbids a physician to attempt a cure, before the sick person, by means of a Pidion, is cleansed from his sins.

"The Zaddik is the crown, ornament, and light of the universe: whoever is so happy as to come in contact with him, his eyes will be enlightened, will be able to penetrate into futurity, and will behold the Godhead face to face."—*Lik. Mahran*, s. viii. 181.

"As in old time the sinner obtained pardon by sacrifice, so can every one that richly contributes to the support of the Zaddik look forward with certainty to the pardon of his sins. God permits the people to support the Zaddik, in order that he may come in contact with them; and, as God looks upon the Zaddik as his beloved son, he remembers, at the same time, those who contribute to his benefit."—*Ibid.* s. liii. 164.

"The more conveniences and pleasure the Zaddik enjoys, the better he is able to qualify himself for the seat of rest, for the Shekinah, and the more grace and abundance will be imparted to the people, both in this and in the future world; therefore, shall no one pass over the threshold of the Zaddik with empty hands."—*Seph. Hamid.*, s. 50.

They also distribute tracts, one of which is called "The Path of the Righteous." It begins thus:—"When you arise, you must not speak a word, except you have first addressed God, and said, 'I confess before thee, thou everlasting and living King, that thou hast returned my soul into my body, through thy mercy and truth.'" The Chasidim believe that every soul goes to heaven during the time the body is at rest, and there it is obliged to write down in the book all sins committed; and when morning comes, God commands the soul to return to its body, and, therefore, the Chasidim thank God for the restoration of the soul to the body. The tract proceeds: "When you pray, pray with a loud voice—as loud as you can, and with all your might." Therefore, you see the Chasidim in their synagogue at

prayer time, moving their bodies backward and forward, and reciting their prayers at the highest pitch of their voices; and that is what they call praying with all their might. "After prayer," enjoins the tract, "sit still an hour, and do not speak." "Take care that you do not steal any thing, even were it only a holy penny, even not from a Gentile." "Do not drink strong drink, for it leads to divers lusts." "Be not high-minded, and be not passionate." "Flee from slander, from lies, flattery, and idle conversation." "Keep yourself very, very humble, and have your sins constantly before your eyes." "Do not look at a man that is ungodly, neither at a Gentile, neither at a convert, much less at an idol." "Flee very much from the congregation of evil doers, and from the synagogues of the Amharazim, (the illiterate.) Be always joyful, never cast down; only let not your joy degenerate into levity."

This sect are great advocates of the doctrine of transmigration. They tried to prove this doctrine from the following passages:—"Lo, all these things worketh God twice and thrice with man, to bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living," (Job xxxiii. 29, 30.) That God permitted the soul to enter the bodies of three men or animals, and to be purified; if, however, it is not corrected by this, it is destroyed. When they wish to discover any secret, they conjure the angels to appear before them in the following manner:—Three days before the new moon, they abstain from all strong drink, they go before sunrise to the baths; they then take two white turtle-doves and kill them with a two-edged knife, made of copper. Each dove is killed with one edge, the inside is taken out and washed with water; some old wine, with incense and honey, is then laid upon them; they are then cut in pieces, and before day-break laid upon burning coals. The conjurer himself is dressed in clean white linen clothes; he stands before the burning coals, and whilst the smoke is ascending he mentions the names of those angels who minister during that month. This he does three times. On the third day he gathers the ashes together, places them in the midst of the

room, lays himself upon them, and sleeps. He is then certain that the angels will come and reveal to him what he desires.

The following prayer, written on parchment, and worn on the left side, is the charm for prosperity in business : —

"May it please thee, O Lord God of Israel, to give charge to the following angels to go into the house of N—, the son of N—, to go with him, and to make him prosper in all his undertakings, by day or by night, at home or abroad ; in thy name, in thy holy zeal, make prosperous N, the son of N—. Amen, Selah."

By writing such and similar charms, the Chasidim have procured a great name for themselves. They pretend to know the number of angels, with their names, their various occupations and services, and how to make them appear before them whenever they please.

Who does not pity this benighted sect, who put their trust in falsehood ? What Christian can hear of their gross superstitions, and not exclaim, "Lord, have mercy upon them!"

They have, however, fallen from the prosperity which they once enjoyed. Within the last few years they have lost several of their greatest rabbis, and no new generation of doctors seems rising up to supply the place of the deceased. The power which their teachers exercised over them, attracted the attention and excited the displeasure of the Russian government, who in some measure repressed it by statute.*

In Prussia the Jews were exposed to persecution by the celebrated Frederick II., a prince, who, though he boasted of emancipation from all bigotry and intolerance, issued, in 1750, an edict for the regulation of the Hebrews in his dominions. This decree limited the number of Israelites who were allowed to reside within the kingdom, and divided them into those who possessed an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the crown. The former privilege de-

* M'Caul's Sketches, p. 16—42.

scended to one child ; the latter was confined to the person in whose favor it was originally granted. Foreign Jews were forbidden to settle ; and exceptions to this rule could only be purchased at an exhorbitant rate. If widows married strangers of their own faith, they were required to leave the kingdom. Those who were allowed to reside in the Prussian dominions were subjected to grievous burdens ; paying, in addition to all the ordinary taxes, a sum for their patent of protection, for marriage, and upon the election of an elder in their communities. But the meanest part of the edict was the following :—Frederick had a manufactory of porcelain, on which he set a high value, and wished to encourage by every means in his power. He therefore ordered that every Jew, on the marriage of a son, should purchase goods from it to the amount of three hundred rix dollars, for foreign exportation. The Israelites, besides enduring the heavy burdens thus imposed upon them, were excluded from all civil functions, and forbidden to practise some of the most lucrative branches of trade.

In England they were tolerated, but by no means regarded with favor. In the reign of Queen Anne an act of Parliament was passed for the purpose of facilitating conversions among them ; and, among other provisions, it empowered the Lord Chancellor to enforce, from the father of any one who embraced the true faith, an adequate maintenance. Nearly about the same time Toland, the free-thinker, attempted to induce the nation to regard the Israelites with greater kindness, and confer more privileges upon them ; but his infidel principles blasted the success of his endeavors. In 1753 a bill was brought forward under the auspices of government, which provided for the naturalization of all Jews who had been resident three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It excluded them from civil offices, but in every other respect conferred the privileges of British subjects. The bill passed both houses of Parliament, and even received the royal assent ; but, although it thus became law, the nation made a clamorous outcry against the authors of the obnoxious

measure. Religious intolerance united with mercantile jealousy to obstruct the operation of an act which was denounced by one class as hostile to the principles of the Gospel, and execrated by another as prejudical to the interests of English traders. Even the pulpit was turned by various clergymen into an engine for anathematizing the policy of the government; and it was found necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute, in order to appease the wide-spread discontent.

In Germany, the most remarkable occurrence which marked the history of the Jews, during the eighteenth century, was the career of Moses Mendelsohn. This extraordinary man was born at Dessau in Anhalt, in 1729. His father, who was a schoolmaster, taught him the Hebrew language and the elements of secular learning, but caused him to be instructed in the Talmud by others. He studied the "Moreh Nevochim" of Maimonides with such diligence, that he distorted his spine and impaired his constitution. Going to Berlin at an early age, he was at first employed by a rabbi as a transcriber of manuscripts; and there he acquired a knowledge of mathematics, Latin, and various of the modern languages. A rich silk manufacturer, named Bernard, pitying his poverty, received him into his house as tutor to his children. He afterwards became a superintendent in the factory, and was ultimately taken into partnership. His abilities and activity bringing him into notice, he gained the friendship of Lessing and some other men of letters. He completely emancipated himself from the unsocial spirit which had so often kept the Jews at a distance from their Christian brethren, but still remained outwardly a member of the synagogue. Lavater wrote to him, urging him to embrace the Gospel; but Mendelsohn, in reply, stated his reasons for continuing in the faith of his fathers.*

* One of these was his persuasion that Judaism, while it contained a large number of divine precepts, suitable for the guidance of men in life, was entirely destitute of religious doctrines. "These," he says, "the Eternal always reveals to us as to all other men, through nature and fact,

He distinguished himself by his opposition to rabbinism, and by his endeavors to awaken the Jews to a love of science and literature. His efforts, in both respects, were attended with much success, especially among the younger members of the community. Previously to his time, German was regarded by the Jews with abhorrence as a Gentile language; and while Hebrew was the dialect of the learned, the illiterate made use of a mixture of old German with oriental and rabbinical terms. But now many found in the noble literature, which was then fast attaining its zenith, more than a substitute for the ponderous volumes of the Hebrew sages. Kimchi and Maimonides gave place to Schiller and Goethe. It is to be feared that Mendelsohn had imbibed the spirit of that infidelity which so unhappily characterized the literary men with whom he was fond of associating; and many of his youthful admirers renounced the superstitions of their fathers only to plunge into the depths of scepticism. His principal works are the "Jerusalem," in which he asserts, that Judaism was, from the first, intended merely as a civil institution; and the "Phaedon," a dialogue on the immortality of the soul, of which the idea was taken from the work of Plato bearing the same name. The characters are the same with those of the Grecian treatise; and the descriptive parts are mere translations of the original. But for the arguments introduced by the ancient, he substituted others better adapted to modern readers; the principal of which was refuted by Kant in one of his philosophical works. The Phaedon procured for its author the title of the Jewish Socrates, and has been translated into almost every European language. He died in 1785, at the age of fifty-six.

Mendelsohn's efforts were ably seconded by Hartwig Wesseley and David Friedlander, who, though both engaged in mercantile pursuits, found leisure to promote the cause of intellectual advancement. They especially directed

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not by word or writing." This distinction is an ingenious, but an infidel one.

their attention to an improvement of the previous rabbinical system of instructing the young. Friedlander assumed the active superintendence of an elementary free-school at Berlin, which had been established by the liberality of himself and other Jews. In 1783 a society was founded at Konigsberg, who undertook the publication of the first periodical that has ever appeared among the Israelites. It was denominated "Measseph," or, "the Gatherer," and, in addition to articles of general literature, admitted essays on the abuses of rabbinism, and suggestions for a reform of that system. It contributed considerably to the progress of the new opinions.*

In the dominions of the Emperor of Germany the Jews were in general tolerated, although they were occasionally subjected to annoyance, and even danger, from the superstition and fanaticism of the populace. Amidst the number of reforms (often precipitate and indigested) which Joseph II. sought to accomplish, one of the first was an amelioration of their condition. He promulgated an edict, freeing them from the poll-tax to which they had been subjected; from the necessity of wearing distinctions in dress; and of living in separate parts of the various towns throughout his dominions. He allowed them to practise every kind of trade, except that in gunpowder, and to attend fairs in cities where they were not domiciliated. He sought by every means to prepare the way for a gradual but complete amalgamation of them with the other inhabitants of the empire; and, the better to effect this end, he enforced upon them the necessity of instituting primary schools for their youth. He laid his universities open to them, adding the privilege of taking degrees in philosophy, civil law, and medicine. He even assigned stipends to those students who should distinguish themselves most. Some years later they were made liable to military conscription; though, like all Austrian subjects who did not belong to the aristocracy, they were

* M'Caul's Sketches, p. 43—54. Penny Cyclopedia, article Mendelsohn.

prevented from attaining any higher rank than that of non-commissioned officers.

But Germany, in this stirring age, distinguished herself by an effort of a much nobler kind than even the most wise and benevolent attempt to ameliorate the civil condition of the Jews. In the city of Halle, in Saxony, was established the Callenberg Institution, the first society formed for the purpose of sending the Gospel to that people. It originated in the devoted piety of John H. Callenberg, a professor in the university, who was the instrument of awakening a considerable interest in the spiritual welfare of the seed of Abraham. As the clergy, however, became more and more infected with the doctrines of rationalism, they grew careless about the propagation of a religion which they did not themselves believe; and the Institution, like many other similar foundations, became more and more feeble in its efforts, for want of funds, until it was finally extinguished, about the period of the French revolution, having continued in existence sixty years. Yet its labors were not altogether in vain. At first two students of divinity were employed to distribute tracts, and converse with the Jews in their own dialect, endeavoring to remove their prejudices against Christianity, and to show them how well adapted its doctrines are to the condition of the human race. Pious persons of different professions and trades in similar ways helped forward the good cause. The society issued a very interesting publication in the journal of its most distinguished missionary, Schultze, who travelled through Europe, Asia, and Egypt, earnestly laboring to bring the ancient people of God to a belief in that Messiah whom they had so long rejected. The exertions of so zealous and devoted a servant of the Lord were not unblessed by Him in whose cause he wrought. The Institution likewise translated into Hebrew various portions of the New Testament,* and circulated them exten-

* Great ignorance of the Old Testament is stated to have prevailed among the Israelites visited by the missionaries. Even the most learned were far better versed in the Talmud than the Law and the Prophets.

sively among the Jews. Along with other works published by the society were several tracts, in which the Gospel was recommended to the attention of the Jews, and the objections cherished by them against it were removed. One of these was the portion of Grotius de Veritate, which contains a refutation of Judaism. Various anecdotes illustrating the interest manifested by Israelites in these treatises are mentioned by Callenberg, in his account of the labors of the society; and several copies of them have been lately discovered among the Jews of Poland and Syria. It is not many years since the Gospel of St. Luke, translated and published in 1738, was found at Bombay in the possession of an unconverted Israelite, who would not part with it except for a complete Bible. The book obtained under such interesting circumstances, was brought to England.*

About the same time, also, the Moravians, ever zealous in the cause of religion, interested themselves in the spiritual welfare of the Jews. They introduced into their liturgy the following prayer :—"Deliver the ten tribes of Israel from their blindness and estrangement, and make us acquainted with their seared ones. Bring in the tribe of Judah in its time, and bless its first fruits among us, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel be saved." The first efforts of the United Brethren for the conversion of God's ancient people were made by a clergyman named Dober, who, on his return from a mission to the West Indies, pursued his benevolent object for some time among the Jews of Amsterdam and London. Another zealous laborer in the same cause was the Rev. Samuel Lieberkuhn, a good oriental scholar, as well as a sound divine. From a statement made by him to the synod at Marienborn in 1764, it appears that his efforts had been principally made in the way of conversation, and that he dwelt chiefly upon the great truth that Jesus is the Messiah. He softened the prejudices of many by inculcating upon them the somewhat question-

* Gillies' Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 461—467. Quarterly Review vol. xxxviii.

able dogma, which, however, he conscientiously held, that Israelites, on being converted, were not required to give up the ceremonial law. Hence the synod, while commending his zeal, did not absolutely sanction his method of procedure.*

We may now turn our attention to France. Although the edict of Charles VI. had never been repealed, the Jews, who were settled in the provinces annexed since that time to the French kingdom, were not required to go into exile. For example, there were a considerable number in the territory of Avignon, formerly belonging to the pope, and in the state of Alsace, which was a recent acquisition. But, though allowed to reside, they were, in the latter province at least, by no means exempt from persecution; and, accordingly, in 1780, they presented a petition to the king in council, complaining of the burdens to which they were subjected. They were not only obliged to pay for the royal patent of protection, which alone entitled them to dwell within the territory of France, but in addition to this, were required by the nobles to purchase the privilege of remaining on their lands. From this tax, imposed by the lord of the soil, no age, sex, or rank was exempted; and the benefit which it conferred did not descend even for one generation, but was renewed for each individual. Their commerce was likewise burdened with many restrictions; and the clergy were indefatigable in inveigling their children from them, and constraining them to submit to baptism. They wished that all renunciation of Judaism should be forbidden, under the age of twelve years. Nor was the appeal to the justice of Louis XVI. fruitless; the capitation tax was abolished in 1784; and four years afterwards, a commission was appointed, at the head of which was placed the celebrated Malesherbes, to take into consideration all the laws relative

* Periodical Accounts of the United Brethren, vol. xv. p. 153—159. In the same volume, pp. 201—206, 249—254, will be found an interesting autobiography of J. S. Reinhold, a convert from Judaism, who died in 1839.

to the Israelites, and re-model them according to the principles of the strictest equity.* The Abbe Gregorie obtained the prize for an essay on the best means of ameliorating their condition, and his work was very generally applauded. But the progress of the revolution put an end to the schemes of Louis for the welfare of the ancient people. Their cause was espoused by some of the leaders of the revolutionary party, such as Mirabeau, whose efforts were much more successful than any which the insulted monarch could have made in their behalf. The National Assembly, in 1791, admitted the Hebrew population to equal rights with other citizens; but the measure was not carried without considerable opposition. Five years afterwards a similar decree was passed in Holland.

Among the coincidences observed in the adminstrations of Cromwell and Bonaparte, it has been remarked, that both turned their thoughts to the condition of the Jews. But the Emperor of France was more unfettered than the Protector of England; and his designs were not, like those of the other, baffled by the jealousy of the people over whom he ruled. In 1806 he summoned a grand Sanhedrim to meet at Paris; and to this assembly of deputies were summoned, not only from every part of France, but from the German and Italian districts adjacent to it. It is probable that Napoleon, whose unrivalled success had made him confident that he could surmount every obstruction to his undertakings, conceived the possibility of bending the Jewish religion completely to his purposes.† He could not but

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* "Perriera, a Portuguese Jew, attained to great celebrity as intepreter at the King's library in Paris, and deserves the thanks of mankind, as being the first who successfully attempted the instruction of the deaf and dumb. He exhibited the effects of his labors on several pupils, and read a memoir on the subject before the Academy in 1749." M'Caul, p. 54.

† This is manifest, from a speech of M. Mole, one of the Imperial Commissioners at the Assembly of 1806. "The duties of the great Sanhedrim," he says, "shall be to *convert into religious doctrines* the answers already given by this assembly, and likewise those which may result from

observe the value of directing to the furtherance of his designs the rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the civilized world, which outstripped even the speed of his own couriers, as well as the great command of the precious metals which they possessed. The complete development of his plans was probably arrested by the reverses he afterwards sustained, and which obliged him to direct his attention to matters of more pressing interest. The first injunction which he gave to the Sanhedrim was to return answers to twelve questions which he put to them; and as these were of considerable consequence, we shall enumerate them, specifying, at the same time, the replies which the deputies gave, although they cannot be regarded as embodying the opinions of the Jews with absolute authority. The questions were as follows :—1. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews? 2. Is divorce recognized by the Jewish law? 3. Can Jews intermarry with Christians? 4. Will the Jews regard the French people as strangers or as brethren? 5. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French? 6. Do Jews born in France consider it their native land, and are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the country? 7. Who are the electors of the rabbis? 8. What legal powers do the rabbis possess? 9. Are the election and authority of the rabbis grounded on law, or merely on custom? 10. Are the Jews forbidden to engage in any business? 11. Is usury to their brethren prohibited by the law? 12. Is it lawful or unlawful to practise usury with strangers? The following are the answers given by the Sanhedrim :—1. Polygamy is unlawful, according to a decree of the synod of Worms in 1030. 2. Divorce is permitted to the Jews; but in this respect they cheerfully acquiesce in the decisions of the civil law of the land in which they reside. 3. Intermarriages with Christians are not prohibited; but difficulties arise from

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the continuance of your sittings." The reply of the president anticipates that their decrees "should become rules of faith for all the Jewish congregations of the western world."

the different forms of marriage. 4. The Jews of France recognize the French people as in the fullest sense their brethren. 5. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as that of the Jew to the Jew. The only distinction between them is their religion. 6. The Jews, even while subject to oppression, acknowledged France as their country; and they have now much stronger motives to do so, by their recent admission to civil rights. 7. There is no definite or uniform rule for the election of the rabbis; it generally rests with the heads of each family in the community. 8. The rabbis have no judical power; the Sanhedrim is the only legal tribunal. As the Jews of France and Italy are subject to the equal laws of the land, they have no inducement to confer any jurisdiction upon their teachers. 9. The election and authority of the rabbis are regulated solely by usage. 10. The Jews are allowed to engage in every kind of business. The Talmud enjoins that every Israelite be taught some trade. 11, 12. The Mosaic law forbids unlawful interest; but this was a regulation intended for an agricultural people. The Talmud allows interest to be taken from brethren and strangers, but forbids usury.

A regular plan was formed by Napoleon for the organization of the Jews throughout the empire. Every two thousand of them were to form a synagogue and a consistory, which was to be composed of one principal and two inferior rabbis, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. This body was to elect twenty-five notables, above thirty years old, for their council; for which all bankrupts and usurers were to be held ineligible. The consistory was required to watch over the behavior of the rabbis, taking care that they taught nothing contrary to the answers given by the deputies to the emperor. The central consistory of Paris was to be a supreme tribunal, having the power of appointing or deposing the rabbis, who were enjoined to make public the decrees of the Sanhedrim; to inculcate obedience to the laws; to urge their people to enter into the military service; and to pray in the synagogues for the welfare of the imperial family. In 1807, the Sanhe-

drim assembled with great pomp, and sanctioned generally the decrees made by the deputies the year before. The whole system of organization was confirmed by an imperial edict. The satisfaction which the Jews might naturally feel at the favorable disposition of the emperor, was in some degree damped by an ordinance, which he soon after issued, with special regard to those of the Rhenish provinces. It prohibited them from lending money to minors without the consent of their guardians ; to wives without the knowledge of their husbands ; or to soldiers without the sanction of their officers. It made void all bills for which "value received" could not be proved. It further obliged all Jews engaged in commerce to take out a patent, and all strangers to invest some property in land or agriculture.

In the kingdom of Westphalia, Napoleon lent his sanction to the benevolent efforts of an Israelite, named Jacobson, who had for several years devoted his energies to the cause of education. Elementary schools were established, and an institution for teachers erected, under the superintendence of government. A report, made in 1808, of the number of the Jews in the territories of France, gave the amount at eighty thousand. There were twelve hundred and thirty-two landed proprietors, without reckoning the owners of houses ; seven hundred and ninety-seven in the army, two thousand three hundred and sixty artisans, and two hundred and fifty manufacturers. But even the despotic power of Bonaparte could not amalgamate the Jews with his other subjects, or give them the principles and sentiments of Frenchmen. It has been remarked, that "the mass of the Israelites were by no means inclined to merge their hopes in the destinies of the empire,—exchange Zion for Montmartre, and Jerusalem for Paris." Even the most cautious and prudent measure must have failed of success ; because the word of prophecy remaineth sure, that "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations," (Numbers xxiii. 9.) But the impious flattery of some of the infidel Jews whom he had gained over, effectually disgusted their conscientious brethren. On the 15th of August,

the emperor's birth-day, they blended the cipher of Napoleon and Josephine with the ineffable name of Jehovah, and elevated the imperial eagle above the representation of the Ark of the Covenant! No Jew, who really adhered to the faith of his fathers, could for a moment tolerate such audacious adulation, which in effect placed the Creator and the creature on the same level.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

Present State of the Jews—Jews of England—Jews of Germany and France—Infidelity prevalent among them—Edicts of the Russian Government—Polish Jews—Karaites in the Crimea—In Lithuania—At Constantinople—Affecting Service of those at Jerusalem—Jews at Leghorn—Jews in the Papal States—Antipathy between the Greeks and Jews—Recent Decree of the Ottoman Porte in favor of the Jews—Mehemet Ali—Persecution at Damascus—Attachment of the Jews to the Holy Land—Their recent returning to it in considerable numbers—Their Cities there—Singular Petition of the Polish Jews—Unfortunate Condition of the Jews in Persia—The Rechabites—Jews in Yemen and Aden—Fate of the Ten Tribes—The Affghans—The Israelites of Daghistan—The Beni-Israel—Their Customs and Rites—White and Black Jews of Cochin—Charter granted to the former by the Emperor of Malabar—Curious Version of the New Testament—Jews in Egypt—In the Barbary States—In Morocco—In the United States.

In directing our attention to the present state of the Jews, it is natural to begin with those resident in England. Among them the Talmud still retains its authority; and they have shown no symptoms of the liberalism, displayed by many of their brethren in Germany.

The number of Jews in the British metropolis is stated to be about eighteen thousand; and in the other parts of Eng-

* Milman, vol. iii. M'Caul's Sketches, p. 55—63. Quarterly Review, vol. lxiii.

land, about nine thousand. It is well known that there are several members of their community remarkable for wealth; and one gentleman, Mr. Hyman Hurtwitz, professor of Hebrew in University College, London, has distinguished himself by repeated publications displaying a minute acquaintance with rabbinical literature. Coleridge, who cultivated his acquaintance, in more than one passage of his works mentions him in the highest terms.

The Jews are debarred by law from being members of parliament, and from filling various offices in this country. The act 9th Geo. IV. c. 17, substitutes for the sacramental test a form of declaration to be made by any person admitted to the corporate offices, or appointed to the places mentioned in the statute. The asseveration in question contains the words, "upon the true faith of a Christian;" and this expression is likewise to be found in the abjuration oath, which has the effect of excluding Hebrews from the House of Commons. (1 Geo. I. st. ii. c. 13; 6 Geo. III. c. 53.) Sundry attempts have been made, but hitherto without success, to procure the abrogation of these enactments.

Yes, British Christians, says an eminent British divine, is it not a disgrace to our national legislation?—is it not a foul blot on the statute-book of our country, that while uncontrolled and lavish support is now proposed to be given for the instruction of the Papists, it has been decided that any legacy given for the instruction of the poor Jew, in his own religion, is not one which will be supported by the court of chancery?

Passing from Britain to the Continent, we may remark, that the Emperor Francis I. of Austria continued the exertions of his predecessor, Joseph II., to ameliorate the condition of the Jews. But such are the advantages of the Jew there, that he can never rise to a higher post than a common soldier; neither can a Jew act as a lawyer, or physician, or professor of any kind; and in the capital they can hold no landed property. Various sovereigns of Germany, before the downfall of Napoleon, such as the grand duke of Baden, in 1809; the king of Prussia, in 1812; the duke of Meck-

lenberg-Schwerin, in the same year; the king of Bavaria, in 1813, issued ordinances admitting their Jewish subjects to civil rights; exempting them from excessive imposts; and throwing open to them all trades and professions. The late Frederic-William especially distinguished himself by his efforts to improve their situation; and they fully shared in all those wise and benevolent schemes which entitled this truly Christian monarch to the appellation of Father of his People. It is stated that they showed themselves thoroughly sensible of his kindness, and strongly attached to his government. Several of them entered the army, and no small number fell in the ranks at Waterloo. From others of the German states, also, many of the Jews joined the patriot armies, formed with enthusiastic zeal, in 1813, to break the yoke of Napoleon, which galled their country so heavily; and the activity and courage they displayed were unequivocally evinced by medals and other decorations. It was, therefore, not without good reason that they might expect the abolition of all the vexatious or oppressive enactments which had been made against them in more barbarous times. Accordingly, in 1815, when the overthrow of the tyrant had been completed, the Germanic Confederation, assembled at Vienna, declared as follows, in its sixteenth article: — "The diet will take into consideration in what way the civil amelioration of the professors of the Jewish religion may best be effected; and, in particular, how the enjoyment of all civil duties may be most effectually secured to them in the states of the Confederation. In the mean time, the professors of this faith shall continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them."

But, although various German governments had thus shown themselves favorable to their claims, the Jews were by no means regarded with kindness by all classes of the community. In several of the great trading towns, such as Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and particularly Frankfort, there is even yet much jealousy shown towards them, on account of their commercial enterprise, which makes them dangerous rivals of their Christian neighbors. They were

exposed to the dislike of the higher classes for another reason. Many of the noble proprietors of the soil had been so impoverished by the impositions of the French, and other circumstances, arising out of the disastrous condition of their country during the period of Napoleon's sway, that they were obliged to dispose of their estates, which frequently passed into the hands of Jews, the principal holders of ready money. Men, whose pride equalled their poverty, could not witness with composure the castles and manors, which had descended to them through many generations, thus becoming the property of persons without rank or title, and having no other distinction than that of great wealth. The feelings of the unfortunate aristocracy were in no small degree shared by other classes, who did not see old associations severed without a pang, and considered the new comers as impertinent upstarts. Besides this, some of the Israelites had acquired riches by entering largely into the contracts made with the French emperor, for the prosecution of his military enterprises; which rendered them especially obnoxious to the German patriots, who so justly detested that adventurer for his tyranny. Nor were those who had thus amassed wealth by various means, so careful as prudence might have taught them to be, to avoid that ostentation which has been often observed as the consequence of suddenly accumulated riches, and which is never displayed without provoking the jealousy of the higher, and the hatred of the lower ranks. All these causes combined to occasion riotous proceeding against them,* which broke out in 1820, first at Meiningen, then at Wurtzburg, and finally extended to the Rhine. At Hamburgh, and even so far north as Copenhagen, serious disturbances soon followed; and it required the utmost vigilance of the several governments to prevent their bursting forth in various other places. But

* It is a curious fact, that the old cry of "Hep! Hep!" which was used in the German massacres of the Jews in the middle ages, was revived upon the occasion of the riots noticed above. Hep is supposed to be the contraction of Hierosolyma est perdita—Jerusalem is destroyed.

these disorders were speedily checked by the exertions of the authorities, who honorably resolved that the nineteenth century should not be disgraced by a repetition of the sanguinary tumults of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth. Nine years later, when the states of Wirtemberg were discussing a measure which extended civil rights to the Israelites, the populace of Stutgard surrounded the Hall of Assembly with savage outcries,—"Down with the Jews! down with the friends of the Jews!" The states calmly maintained their dignity, continued their sittings, and eventually passed the bill which was so disagreeable to the fanatical mob.

Within the present century the German Jews have greatly advanced in knowledge and intellectual cultivation. The impulse communicated by Mendelsohn to the minds of his countrymen has not subsided; hence many of them attend the universities, and apply themselves with much success to the attainment of literature and science. Previously to the time of the author just named, the German had been despised by them as an unholy language; but it has now become the favorite study of the more liberal among them, who appreciate as eagerly and as skilfully as their neighbors the noble works which, during the last century, have immortalized the literature of their native land. Nor have they by any means confined their attention to one tongue, rich and varied as that may be; they have extended their studies to those of ancient and modern Europe, and the different departments of mental and physical science. Several of them have distinguished themselves in the career of authorship; proving to the world that, where the Hebrew intellect has free scope to develop its powers, it may worthily claim the attention and respect of every unprejudiced Christian. But, at the same time, it must not be concealed, that many of the Jews have emancipated themselves from the thraldom of rabbinical superstition, only to be bewildered in the not less dangerous mazes of rationalism and infidelity. It was hardly to be expected that, in a country where so many men, eminent in literature and science, were avowedly

or secretly hostile to religion, the educated Israelite alone should be proof against the noxious influence of the atmosphere around them. Accordingly, we find that many of them hardly take any pains to conceal their sceptical opinions ; and they have established a kind of reformed worship, with views opposed to all revelation. As they possess newspapers and other periodicals, they are by no means at a loss for channels through which to propagate their sentiments ; and they have exchanged their once fondly cherished hopes of a restoration to their native land, under the guidance of the Messiah, for a zealous participation in the various schemes of revolutionary change, which from time to time appear to perplex and alarm the sovereigns of Germany. The contagion of infidelity has extended from thence into Poland, where many proselytes have been made among the Hebrew population. In France, as might be apprehended, similar feelings prevail ; the external garb of Judaism, as well as of Popery, is worn by many, who, in their hearts, despise and hate all revealed religion whatsoever. Some have even gone so far as to throw aside the name of Jews, and assume the appellation of Frenchmen-Israelites, or adherents of Mosaism ; professing to consider the emancipation from all civil disabilities which followed the Revolution, as sufficiently realizing the expectations once entertained respecting the Messiah. These opinions are supported in a journal which bears the imposing name of "The Regeneration, destined to the Improvement, moral and religious, of the Israelitish People ;" and is conducted by some of the most learned of their body in Paris, Brussels, and Frankfort.

But, although sceptical principles have made considerable progress among them in various parts of Europe, Judaism may still boast of many most devoted adherents. Even in Germany there are multitudes of steady supporters of rabbinism ; but their chief strength is in Poland, where they are less exposed to disturbing influences. With reference more immediately to the German Jews, it has been lately said, "the rabbinists, notwithstanding the exclusiveness of

their studies, must be considered as an educated people, perhaps more so than any other upon earth. Dr. M'Caul, a man every way competent to bear witness on the subject, speaking of the Jews, says, "After long acquaintance with the nation, I must confess, that I believe them to be a highly gifted and highly intellectual people; and that, so far from being characterized by love of money, more individuals who have sacrificed the pursuit of wealth to the pursuit of learning—more individuals who, amidst every possible disadvantage of poverty and destitute circumstances, have become learned, could be pointed out amongst them, than amongst any other people." The zeal of individuals, even the poorest, prompts them to undertake the office of teachers; and, so content are they with small remuneration, that nearly a dozen Melammedims might be maintained by the salary required for one English schoolmaster. Parents and relations will endure the greatest privations to save a sufficient sum for the education of their children; and oftentimes, where the income of a single family is inadequate, five or six will make a common purse to provide the salary of a tutor.

The Russian government has, during the nineteenth century, frequently interfered with the condition of its Israelitish subjects. A ukase of the Emperor Alexander, in 1824, directed the removal of all the Jews resident in his Polish provinces, except such as should devote themselves to "solid mercantile business," or to the practice of medicine. All of them were ordered to give up small trading, the management of distilleries, and similar employments, and to prepare for migration to a tract of territory where they were to apply themselves to agriculture; and, as an inducement to do so, it was promised that they should be free from all taxes for a limited period. Alexander appears to have become jealous of the dense Hebrew population in Poland; perhaps imagining that in case of any future disturbance in a country by no means reconciled to the Russian yoke, they might prove formidable allies to the insurgents. He therefore deemed it advisable to transport many of them to other parts of the empire, where the inhabitants were as yet but few in num-

ber. About the same time he decreed the abolition of the power of the rabbis, which was previously very great, and transferred their authority to the elders of the various communities. He assigned, as his reason for this proceeding, the charges of malversation brought against the teachers. In like manner he endeavored to establish a system of education for his Hebrew subjects, which, by its comprehensiveness and excellence, might supersede the plan of instruction heretofore pursued by the rabbis. Some years ago his brother Nicholas issued ukases in quick succession,* restraining the Jews from all traffic throughout the interior government of Russia. They are absolutely prohibited (on pain of immediate banishment) from "offering any article to sale,"† whether in public or private, either by themselves or by others. They are not allowed to reside, even for a limited period, in any of the cities of Russia, without an express permission from government, which is granted only in cases where their services are necessary, or directly beneficial to the state. A refusal to depart when they become obnoxious to so rigid a law subjects them to be treated as vagrants; and none are suffered to protect or to shelter them. Though the observance of such edicts must, in numerous instances, leave them destitute of any means of support, yet their breach or neglect exposes them to oppression under the sanction of the law, and to every privation and insult without remedy or appeal. And though they may thus become the greatest objects of pity, all laws of humanity are reversed, by imperial decrees, towards them.‡

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* 15th November, 1797. 25th February, 1823. 8th June, 1826. (August or November), 1827.

† Ukase, quoted from "The World" of date 31st October, 1827. Ib. Article viii.

‡ *Note.*—While the prophecies describe the past and existing miseries of the Jews, they refer with no less precision to the time yet to come, when the children of Israel shall have returned to the loved land of their fathers, and their rebuke shall have ceased from off the face of the earth, and when they shall prize their blessings the more highly, as contrasted

For those who harbor Jews that are condemned to banishment for having done what all others may innocently do, are, as the last Russian ukase respecting them bears, "amenable to the laws as the abettors of vagrants," *and*, as in numberless instances besides, *no man shall save them.*

An edict, was also directed against those teachers, who were to be immediately excluded by the police from any city or town which they might enter. The higher class of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, were by this ukase obliged to have an express protection from government; while artisans and handicraftmen, though encouraged, were subjected to vexatious police regulations, and obliged to become members of some guild or fraternity. A more recent law allows Jews employed by the crown to engage in commerce and keep shops.

Lord Byron's brief and emphatic description of the Jews is equally characteristic of the fact, and illustrative of the predictions.

> Tribes of the *wandering foot* and *weary breast,*
> When shall we flee away and be at rest?

Another hard blow has just been levelled against the unfortunate Jews of Russia. In virtue of a new ukase, all Jews inhabiting the open country are to be driven into the towns. But all Jews not possessing immoveable property shall be unable to obtain the right of citizenship; that is, they are not to be allowed to carry on any trade, but are to

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with the former sufferings of their race. And the Word of God, confirmed as its prophetic truth is by the workings of the wrath of man, and by the policy of earthly monarchs, will doubtless triumph over the highest mandates of mortals, and receive new illustrations of its truth when these shall have passed away. And the eleventh article of the ukase now in force merits, in reference to a special prediction, particular notice, and may here be subjoined, together with its corresponding text, premising merely that it is to a specific district of dismembered Poland that the rabbis are sent away. "Thy teachers shall not be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers." Isaiah xxx. 20.

be given over to starvation, should they decline the proffered alternative of turning Russian Catholics.

The Russian Government has imposed on its Jewish subjects a new tax, under the name of a Sabbath-light tax. The revenue derived therefrom is to be employed in support of schools to be established. These, however, do not yet exist, while the tax is already levied. It is generally feared that the impost will remain, even though the schools be not instituted.

At a naval review, lately held before the emperor, the monarch was exceedingly pleased with the skill in seamanship evinced by two sailors, whom he immediately promoted to the rank of officers. On being informed that they were Jews, the emperor called on them to turn Christians, and when they refused, he used hard language, and even threatened them. Upon this they begged as a favor, in order to show themselves quite worthy of the distinction, to be allowed to perform another feat of seamanship. Having been permitted, they plunged into the sea, never more to emerge!

The Journal des Debats publishes the following letter, dated St. Petersburg, 29th February: "A new tax has been imposed on the Russian Isrealites. An imperial ukase, which has been published on the proposition of the senate, commands that for every head of horned cattle slaughtered by the Jewish butchers, according to the Jewish rite, a tax of twenty-one silver roubles (£3 10*s.*) shall be paid; and that moreover, all the portions of the animal which are considered unwholesome or impure by the Israelites, and which the Jewish butchers formerly sold to the Christians, shall hereafter be buried under ground, or destroyed in any other manner, in the presence of police agents. In consequence of these two measures, of which the latter is founded on the fact, that Jews are not justified in selling to Christians a food which they consider unfit for use; the pure meat, according to the Jewish doctors, will cost the exorbitant price of fifty silver kopecks, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound weight; so that the less wealthy classes of the Israelites, who form

five-sixths of the Jewish population of Russia, will find themselves compelled to abandon the use of meat, as the Russian Jews, who are most strict in the observance of their religion, will never consent to use food forbidden by their priests. The object of the ukase appears to destroy the distinction existing between the Israelites and the other subjects of the emperor of Russia."

It will be evident from the facts just stated, that the Polish Israelites under the Russian government do not now enjoy those great privileges which, in former times, led some authors to give to their country the name of the "Jews' Paradise." They are oppressed on every side, yet dare not complain; robbed and defrauded, yet obtain no redress; in the walk of social life, insult and contempt meet them at every turning. The children in the streets often throw stones at the most respectable Jews, and call them opprobrious names. If a Christian comes into a coffee-house, where he sees some Jews sitting, his *pious zeal* prompts him immediately to utter some expression of insolent contempt, with which the proverbs and common sayings of his country amply supply him; such as 'I would rather kill a Jew than do so and so;' and many similar expressions of malevolence. The enmity displayed by the common people finds vent with special fury at the season of Easter.

In the Russian dominions are two of the chief settlements of the Karaites, of which we have already spoken. These occupy a mountain-rock in the Crimea, and the shores of a beautiful lake at Troki, in Lithuania; the inhabitants of the latter place stating themselves to be the descendants of a colony sent thither four hundred years ago. In a petition addressed by them to the Empress Catherine, these sectarians affirm that their ancestors had no share in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ; and this assertion, which in other circumstances we might have conceived to have been made for the purpose of interesting in their favor a Christian government, derives great weight from the irreproachable character which the Karaites every where enjoy. Dr. Clark and other travellers have described in glowing terms the picturesque

fortress, called Djufut-Kale, or the Jews' Castle; the steep ascent by which the narrow path winds up to it; and the beautiful sepulchral grove, which form remarkable features in the Crimean settlement. The houses of this town are all constructed in the oriental style, with the windows looking into the courts, and are surrounded by a high wall of stone. There are two synagogues in the place. The burying-ground is termed "The Valley of Jehoshaphat;" and the tombstones, which are generally of white marble, are arranged in regular rows. The oldest of them, according to its Hebrew inscription, was erected in 1364, not quite five hundred years ago. About the beginning of the last century the Karaites had peculiar privileges conferred upon them, in consequence of a cure performed upon a sister of the reigning Khan. They strictly observe the Sabbath, neither lighting a candle nor kindling a fire from Friday at sunset to the same time the following evening. The gates of the fortress are kept shut during the whole of this period. Their number is about five thousand; and several of them, who are established as merchants at Odessa, bear a very good character for honesty.

The inhabitants of Djufut-Kale possess a curious Tartar Targum, or version of the Old Testament, a copy of which was inspected by Dr. Henderson during his stay at Astrakhan. It consists of four volumes in quarto, and is complete, with the exception of the two books of Chronicles. Being servilely literal, it is of no practical use, as the Hebrew and Tartar languages differ widely in their structure. Indeed, no person can understand it who is not previously acquainted with the original dialect of the Old Testament.*

The Lithuanian Karaites amounted, some years ago, to only about one hundred and sixty; and, like their brethren, they wear the dress of the country which they inhabit. Their reputation is deservedly very high, for it is stated, by a Christian writer, that during the long period of four

* Henderson, chap. xiv.

hundred years, not one of them has had a criminal sentence passed upon him. It is a remarkable circumstance that they have retained the Tartar language, though they likewise speak Russian and Polish. Every Sabbath and feast-day their teachers deliver moral discourses to them. In these sermons the Tartar tongue is used ; but their prayers are always made in Hebrew. Their manners are simple and obliging ; and they listen to the arguments of Christian missionaries with patience, never having recourse to the sophisms which the Talmudical Jews too often employ in controversy.

There are about three hundred Karaites in Constantinople. Their synagogue is situated in a spot lower than any of the adjoining buildings ; and the reason of this is said to be, that they wish to adhere literally to the words of the Psalmist, " Out of the depths have I cried unto thee." (Psalm cxxx. 1.) It may not be amiss, in this place, to furnish the reader with some account of the mode of public worship in use among them, an opportunity of observing which was presented, on a visit to their synagogue in the town of Lutsk, by one of the missionaries:

" This visit took place on the day of Pentecost, 1821. The synagogue, which is situated in the back part of the town, is a square wooden building, capable of containing about two hundred people. The entrance is from the east, and leads immediately into the outer court, which is appropriated to the use of females, and is divided from the rest of the synagogue by a thin partition, in which is a chink for hearing and observing what is transacted within. Directly in front of the entrance, and fixed to the western wall, is the Ark of the Covenant, containing the book of the law, the front of which is covered with a veil about eight feet in length by two and a half in breadth. Besides this veil, there are two smaller, one on each side, covering the prayer-books and other things requisite for the use of the officiating rabbi. Close to the ark is a small reading desk, somewhat in the shape of a music stand, where the Levite, or minister, assists at certain parts of the service ; and in front, near the mid-

dle of the synagogue, stands a square table, painted blue, and adorned with two coverlets, one of woolen stuff of various colors, and the other of silk, richly embroidered and ornamented. On each side of this table stands a large candlestick, with seven branches, filled with wax candles; and at different distances round the synagogue, stand a number of reading desks, each of which has a box, containing such books as are used in the time of service.

"Instead of the larger and smaller *Talith*, or white woolen garments, which the other Jews put on when they go into the synagogue, the Karaim use two long belts of woolen stuff, which are thrown over the shoulders and joined behind by a square piece of the same material, which is more or less ornamented, according to the circumstances of the owner. To the corners of this piece are attached the *Tzitzith*, or long fringes or ornamental strings, which the wearer puts together at different parts of the service, especially before the reading of the law, and having kissed them, places them upon his eyes, as a sign that the divine commandments, of which these are a symbol, are the only medium of light to the mind. This custom is founded on Numbers xv. 38—40. The rabbi was dressed in a long robe of black silk, over which a large white *Talith* was thrown, which covered his head, and hung down nearly to the bottom of his robe. The prevailing dress of the people was a long blue top coat, lined with lambskin, and large lambskin caps, in the Tartar manner.

"The service of the day had commenced before I went, so that I found them already advanced to the reading of different parts of the Scriptures. I am not aware that it is known among Christians, but it is certainly deserving of notice, that the celebrated prophecy, quoted by the Apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, from the prophet Joel, chapter ii. 28—32, forms a part of the Pentecostal service among the Karaite Jews. Such, however, is the fact; and may we not conclude, from the pertinacity with which this ancient sect adhere to their primitive customs, that the same coincidence took place in the apostolic age? that, in the divine prescience,

those who selected the hophtorahs or sections from the prophets to be read in the synagogues, were directed to choose this passage from Joel, for the particular feast on which it was to receive its proper and remarkable accomplishment? and that the Apostle Peter, in quoting the lesson for the day, had recourse to one of the most powerful arguments which he could possibly have used, in order to convince a Jew of the divine nature of the transactions exhibited on that stupendous occasion?

"Nearly two hours were spent in repeating prayers and reading passages out of the Psalms and the Prophets, in all of which the congregation took a greater share than the rabbi, who at certain intervals fell down on his knees, and bowed with his face to the ground. At length that part of the service commenced, which is preparatory to the manifestation of the law. It consisted chiefly in prayers, which were repeated with uncommon earnestness, the congregation lifting up their hands and elevating their voice, while at regular intervals the words, 'Hear, O Israel, Jehovah, our Elohim is one Jehovah,' were repeated with much solemnity. The ark was then opened, and the law brought out with great reverence, and placed endwise upon the table of testimony. The upper end of the roll was ornamented with a crown, on the top of which was infixed a precious stone, and at different distances hung small silver tablets, the gifts of zealous members of the congregation. The numerous wrappings were no sooner taken off than the worshippers pressed forward to kiss them, after which a deputation of three little boys came in from the outer court, and receiving them into their extended arms, conveyed them out to the females, who also kissed them, and placed them to their eyes, in the same manner as the men had done.

"The law was now laid flat on the table, and the minister addressed the officiating priest in the following words:—'Thou, therefore, my father, O Priest, the crown of my head, give glory to the law, and approach to read in the book of the law; approach it with reverence.' On which the congregation repeated, in Hebrew, the divine promise to

Phinehas: 'And it shall be to him and to his seed after him, a covenant of everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel,' (Num. xxv. 13,) and in Chaldee: 'And the children of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of the house of God with joy,' (Ezra vi. 16.)

"Having repeated certain introductory sentences from the 119th Psalm, the rabbi began the lesson, 'In the third month of the Exodus of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt,' etc. (Ex. xix. 1.) When he had finished this portion, he quoted the words, 'Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel,' etc., (Ps. lxxii. 18, 19,) and the minister, turning to a young man that was standing by, said, 'And thou, my brother, O Levite, give glory to the law, and approach to read in the book of the law; approach it with reverence.' To which the congregation gave in response: 'And to Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with the Holy One, whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah.' The Levite then came forward, and repeated several passages from the Psalms, Job, and the book of Proverbs, and read several verses of the lesson, concluding with the words, 'Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel; and blessed be his glorious name forever.'

"The rest of the lesson was read by certain individuals from the congregation, who were in like manner summoned in turn by the minister, with the words, 'And thou, my brother, O Israelite, give glory to the law, and approach to read in the book of the law; approach with reverence.'

"Having read to the commencement of Exodus xx, the whole congregation stood some time in silence, till the rabbi began to repeat, in Hebrew, the ten commandments, which the congregation immediately repeated after him in Tartar, each commandment apart. The concluding part of the chapter was then read; and after a general ascription of glory to the Supreme Law-giver, during which the law was rolled up and placed in the Ark, the minister turned to one

of the people, and addressed him thus : 'And thou, my son O Dismisser, give glory to the law, and approach to read the lesson; approach with reverence.' To which the congregation replied : 'Hear, my son, the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother. Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings ; and the years of thy life shall be many.'

"This dismisser, (so called because he finishes the lesson previous to the dismission of the congregation,) was a fine looking boy, about thirteen years of age, who read the prayer of Habbakuk in Hebrew, with a pathos and beauty which quite astonished me. The service ended with the repetition of a long metrical prayer, on which the congregation, after a few silent aspirations, retired to the outer court, where they left their shoes, and went away with great decorum.

"Having addressed one of the Karaim, who stood next to me, in Turkish, his countenance which had formerly expressed surprise at my looking over the service book, now brightened up, as if he had discovered a brother; and after exchanging a few words, he introduced me to the rabbi, who kindly invited me to visit him at his house in the afternoon. I accordingly went at the time appointed, and found his room filled with Karaites of both sexes, who had assembled to listen to our conversation. He gave me a hearty 'come in peace' and without reserve entered into an explanation of the peculiar dogmas of their faith. Instead of manifesting that disquietude, which generally seizes the mind of a Rabbinist, the moment the subject of the Messiah is introduced, my host discovered no alarm, but assured me that he is the object of their daily expectation. Such passages, as I quoted from the Old Testament, he explained much in the same way, as the more ancient of the Jewish Rabbis, and appeared to have little or no knowledge of the numerous subterfuges, to which the modern Talmudists have recourse in their controversy with Christians. On my referring to the Hebrew New Testament, a copy of which I intended to present to him, he rose and produced one from his library,

which bore evident marks of having been read, and which he handed to the people to read without any reluctance. "They had read," he said, the accounts it contained respecting Jesus of Nazareth; but they were not convinced, that he was the Messiah, promised to the fathers."

It was peculiarly interesting to behold a company of the seed of Abraham, listening with deep attention to the discussion of that important subject which their law typified, their prophets predicted, their poets sang, and all the ancient worthies of their nation realized by a believing anticipation; and as I left them my prayers ascended on their behalf, that as on the blessed day, the effusion of the Holy Spirit effected the conversion of 3000 souls, for a waive offering of the first fruits to the Lord, so the general ingathering might speedily commence, and all Israel be saved with an everlasting salvation.

The following account is given in a letter from the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, who visited them in 1839, and says:— "We had an excellent opportunity of hearing a discourse, the passage that morning was in Deuteronomy, xxi. 10. The rabbi made two boys who were sitting before him read the words aloud, and then began his observations. The substance of the sermon was, that the direction given, verse 2th, to 'shave the head and pare the nails,' was intended o show that no one ought to marry on the ground that the person was beautiful; and that, if any do so, then verse 15th shows that ungodly mothers will rear up ungodly children; and then verse 18th may remind us, that it is no wonder that such a man has trouble with his children: therefore, said he, in the way of application, 'keep the heart with all diligence,' and pointed out the responsibilities of parents and children. When his remarks were ended, they repeated a short prayer, and broke up. The rabbi invited us to his house. He told us that the Karaites have not any hatred towards Christians; and suffer far more virulent opposition from the other Jews than from any besides.

Some years ago, the following affecting service was in

use among the Karaites at Jerusalem. It is taken from Dr. Wolff's Journal. The rabbi and the people speak alternately :—

Rabbi.—On account of the palace which is laid waste ;

People.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of the temple which is destroyed ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of her walls which are pulled down ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of our majesty which is gone ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of our great men who have been cast down ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of our precious stones which are burned ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of the priests who have stumbled ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—On account of our kings who have despised Him ;

P.—We sit lonely and weep.

R.—We beseech thee to have mercy upon Zion ;

P.—Gather the children of Jerusalem.

R.—Make haste, O Redeemer of Zion ;

P.—Speak to the heart of Jerusalem.

R.—May beauty and majesty surround Zion ;

P.—And turn with mercy to Jerusalem.

R.—Remember the shame of Zion ;

P.—Remember again the ruins of Jerusalem.

R.—May the royal government shine over Zion ;

P.—Comfort those who mourn at Jerusalem.

R.—May joy and gladness be found upon Zion ;

P.—A branch shall come forth at Jerusalem.

When Dr. Wolff visited the Karaites at Jerusalem in 1829, he found them reduced in number to an old man, some boys, and five women, whose husbands had fled from the persecution of the Turks to their brethren in the Crimea. All these persons lived in one house ; and their synagogue was under the same roof. They showed

the missionary an ancient manuscript copy of the Hebrew Bible.

There are about twenty similar families resident at Hit, a place on the banks of the Euphrates, about two days' journey from Bagdad. They are all silversmiths, working trinkets and ornaments for the Arabs. This settlement is of ancient date.

We return to the present state of the main body of the Jews. They are still excluded from Spain by the decree of Ferdinand and Isabella; but it is said that many of the descendants of the "new Christians" still practise Hebrew rites in secret. There are about two thousand Israelites resident at Gibraltar, under British protection, many of whose children attend Christian schools. The Jews were allowed to re-enter Portugal by an edict of John VI., who, in this manner, rewarded them for introducing large cargoes of corn into the country during a period of scarcity.

In Sweden the Jews reside almost exclusively in four cities, namely, Gothenburg, Stockholm, Norrkoping, and Carlskrona. Their number is estimated at nearly 1,700 individuals. No Jew is allowed to live in Norway. An instance has recently occurred in which this strange statute has been enforced.

Two strangers were accused in Christiania in September last, of having by legerdemain relieved some people of their money. An investigation before the authorities, however, resulted in their acquittal. At the same time, it was suspected that one of them was a Jew, and both were therefore again taken into custody on this charge. When questioned, both professed themselves Jews, alleging their ignorance of the law which forbids Jews to come to that country. One of them, who was a chemist, proved to be a Portuguese Jew, and was set free again, as an ancient law exempts Jews of his class from requiring special permission for coming on business to Norway. His companion, however, an optician, being a Danish Jew, was fined, according to law, the sum of eight hundred dollars, and as he refused to appeal, and the king can only remit sentences of the supreme

court, the law was left to take its course. As he could not pay the fine, he had to suffer thirty days' imprisonment, and to live on bread and water.

In the Danish states there are about fifteen thousand Jews, who are scattered throughout the kingdom. The largest congregations are to be found in Copenhagen and Altona; the former consists of four thousand, and the latter two thousand six hundred individuals.

The principal Jewish communities in the Papal States are to be found at Rome, Ancona, and Ferara; their total number scarcely exceeds ten thousand individuals. The Jews possess here some, at least, of the rights of citizens, granted to them under certain conditions by a few popes, and confirmed by their successors with the form, "Confirmabus, sed non approbamus."—(We confirm, but do not approve.) The Jews received great benefits from the pious Pope Pius VII., who reigned from 1816 to 1825, and made many concessions to them. He allowed them to remain in the same condition as under Napoleon; and the Jews appeared almost to be put on an equal footing with other citizens.

But on the accession of Leo XII. to the Papal chair, old, long-forgotten bulls, denouncing curses and perdition on the Jews, were again revived. They are prohibited to acquire any landed property; they are again shut up in the Ghetto, and not allowed to leave it after sunset. It being well known that the Jews are not allowed to touch any fire on the Sabbath-day, Christian servants were forbidden to go into the Ghetto from Friday evening to Saturday evening; and every Jew, moreover, in whose house such a servant was found within the above-mentioned period, was fined three hundred scudi. It was not sufficient for a Jew to obtain a passport of the police, but the Holy Inquisition had to be informed of the journey, and give permission for it. No Israelite was permitted to carry on his trade or business out of the precincts of the Ghetto, nor could he rise to rank or consideration among his fellow-citizens; he was not thought good enough even to become a soldier. At the celebration of the great festivals in the Christian Church, the Jews are shut up

in the Ghetto during the whole time of their duration. In addition to this, it was made a law under Leo XII., that every Saturday a certain number of Jews were to attend a Christian church, for the purpose of hearing the conversion-sermon of a monk, full of the most acrimonious aspersions on their religion. If the prescribed number of attendants at this sermon be not complete, the Jewish community are compelled to pay for every one who is wanting thirty bajochi to the Inquisition.

If a servant or a Christian nurse should declare that she had baptized an Israelitish infant with her own hand, the Inquisition removed it without mercy from its parents, and gave it to the Church, no reclamation being in any case allowed. An inventory of the fortune of the parents was made, we are told, in order to secure to the infant its patrimony.

One of these most barbarous transactions occurred recently in Rome. A young Jewess, of about eighteen, was taken away by soldiers at midnight from the house of her step-father, the husband of her mother, who was then in the house ; and the pretext was, that an Italian nurse, a Roman Catholic, employed in the family, had secretly baptized the girl when an infant, and that therefore she was no longer to be considered a Jewess, but must be placed under Christian guardians. She was accordingly forced into a convent, from whence she came out a convert ; but converted through means, which, by her own narrative, lately published, are quite dreadful. She was made the prey of delusions practised upon her by night, false visions, and all the abominable contrivances of the worst days of Popery. She was, however, a rich prize, though not a very honorable or legitimate one ; for she was heiress to a considerable fortune, which was to pass into the hands of one of her own religion, to whom she had been betrothed. This fortune, however, was exacted from her step-father, together with as much more, as what she might be entitled to upon the death of her mother ; and the Papal Government very generously proposed, on their part, to find for her a husband of the Christian per-

suasion. "*Ex uno disce omnes.*" This happened about three months ago ; and I am ashamed, I blush for the Christian name. Could I go and speak to a Jew under such degrading circumstances ?

Many persons think that the Jews have no longer any reason to complain of the treatment they receive at the hands of European nations. We have here, as in many other instances, painful proof to the contrary :—

The king of Sardinia has ordered the expulsion of all the Jews from the town of Savona within three days, and has commanded their assembling in one of the filthiest parts of Genoa.

Hitherto nothing has been altered in the above regulations. If in the present day they are not enforced in all their rigor, it is owing to the mild and humane character of Gregory XVI., who was made pope in the year 1831.

There are, therefore, but few rich Jews in the states of the church, and hardly any traces of the arts and sciences are to be found among them.

There are about three thousand Jewish souls in the duchy of Modena. They form seven communities, viz.:—At Modena, Reggio, Finale, Corregio, Carpi, Norellara, and Scandiano ; only the two first-mentioned are numerous, there being about twelve hundred Jews in Modena, and eight hundred in Reggio. The Jews of the Duchy are wealthy, and possess also estates ; for, although here likewise laws exist which forbid the acquisition of landed property, they are not enforced at present. They are not allowed to study any science but medicine—in the practice of this as well as of handicraft trades, they are very much circumscribed by restrictions ; here also they are, for the most part, confined to their Ghettos.

Modena has nine synagogues, and a good Jewish school. Reggio has five synagogues. The small community at Finale, consisting of about two hundred souls, boasts of having produced the celebrated General Ventura. Corregio, where Jesi, the great master of engravery, was born, flourishes by its commerce. Carpi, with three hundred

Jews; Norellara, with two hundred; and Scandiano, with one hundred and fifty, are very much in the same condition, and do not present any characteristic distinction.

According to the statistical accounts for the year 1839, about two thousand Jews live in the kingdom of Naples. They are, however, entirely disregarded by the states, live as strangers; are overlooked and neglected; they possess no civil privileges, not even the right to form themselves into congregations.

There are now residing in Tuscany about fifteen thousand Jews; at Florence two thousand. Most of them live in their quarter, *il Ghetto*, others live in other parts of the town, as they are not restricted in this respect. At Florence we find still two distinct congregations: the "Bene Italia," and the "Sfardim;" both have now handsome synagogues. Some of the Jews of Florence are very rich; all of that place devote themselves to commerce. At present there is no learned Jew of any renown at Florence, and the formerly famous Jewish printing-office does no longer exist, in consequence of want of work. At Pisa only a small number of Jews are residing—about two hundred; they have a synagogue, and a rabbi. The Jewish printing-office which was flourishing here not many years ago, has undergone the same fate as that of Florence.

The Roman Catholic Church has put many stumbling-blocks in the way of the Jews, and it is a fact, that the Jews living in such countries consider Christianity a system of idolatry; and how can they otherwise? Even to this day idolatry is kept up in the Roman churches, in such superstitious and ridiculous a manner, that we should imagine a being endowed with reason and common sense would shrink back from it.

Although on various occasions the descendants of Abraham have sought and found refuge in Mohammedan countries from the persecutions inflicted upon them by those who professed the Christian faith, the Turks, until very lately, looking upon them as a degraded race, showed their contempt by various species of insults. They delighted to observe the antipathy which subsisted between the Greeks and

the Jews, two races of men whom the believer in the false prophet regarded with indiscriminate disdain. It almost seemed as if the Israelites in Turkey still cherished a rancorous remembrance of the persecuting edicts of Justinian, and sought, in every way, to wreak their vengeance upon the descendants of those who, in former times, so relentlessly oppressed them. When, not many years ago, the patriarch of Constantinople was put to death in a most barbarous manner, the Jews eagerly assisted in his murder, and even in the insults inflicted on his body.

Of late years, however, the two most powerful of the Mohammedan sovereigns, the late grand seignior and the pasha of Egypt, have endeavored to obliterate, as far as possible, the barbarous customs which, while they kept up the distinctive character of Islamism, excited the ridicule of Christian nations. In these schemes of amelioration the Israelites have largely participated. A late ordinance issued by the Turkish court enacts that Greeks, Catholics and Jews, are entitled to all benefits of the law, equally with Mohammedans. Upon this edict it has been thus remarked, "The state of things in the East is such, that the Divan could not altogether overlook the great mass of Turkish Jews; and by a Hatii Sheriff, intended to delineate the basis of the designed transformation and renovation of oriental policy, and embracing in general terms all relations, the Jewish congregations were not only openly recognized, but the life, property and honor of the Israelites were placed under public jurisdiction, their military services accepted, and an equal share of taxation imposed upon them. Although the component elements of the East may be more or less able to follow out and realize these principles, yet, by this general equalization, a path was opened for true civil amelioration, unaccompanied by those pains and fears which were caused by hoping for the same in Europe."* One of the most remarkable communities at present existing among

* "Jewish Intelligence," quoted in Church of England Quarterly Review for July, 1840.

the Hebrews, is a body of several thousand followers of Sabbatai Sevi at Salonica, the ancient Thessalonica, who, however, outwardly conform to Mohammedanism, though they never intermarry with the professors of that religion. They are called *Domne*, i. e. turned by the Turks, and *Mamenen*, i. e. polluted, or heretics, by the Jews.

The recent conquests of Mehemet Ali in Syria have excited considerable anxiety about the manner in which he may choose to treat the Jewish inhabitants in his new dominions. When Dr. Duff was at Alexandria, on his way to India, in December, 1839, a variety of rumors upon this subject were afloat. Exceedingly desirous to ascertain the real state of the case, that zealous missionary obtained, through the kindness of her majesty's consul-general, Colonel Campbell, an interview with the pasha, upon whom he waited in company with the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, an Episcopal clergyman resident at Alexandria. In answer to various questions put to him through the medium of an interpreter, the ruler of Egypt said, that he would give every facility to those Jews who might be solicitous to return to the Holy Land; that he would treat them exactly as Mohammedan subjects; and that he would allow them, if they chose, to rent or purchase land, so as to become cultivators or proprietors of the soil. Dr. Duff, however, adds, "being himself, in a peculiar sense, the father and the child of expediency, it is impossible to say how far his verbal decisions are to be relied on. The expediency of to-day may prove the inexpediency of to-morrow."

Since this interview, there has been a most wicked and horrible persecution of the Jews at Damascus, which has been occasioned by the prevalence among the lower classes there, of the absurd belief, that the Jews require Gentile blood for the celebration of their passover. According to the statement of Mr. G. W. Pieritz, missionary of the London Society to the Jews at Damascus, the facts are the following: —

"Padre Tomaso was a monk of the Capuchin order, a native of Sardinia. He lived in Damascus since 1807, where

he occasionally practised medicine. He used particularly to vaccinate children, both of the Jews and others, by which he amassed a tolerable sum of money. On account of his usefulness he was much regarded by the Jews of Damascus. He also had a servant Ibrahim, a native Christian; but whom the Jews generally did not know, nor, in fact, that he had a servant at all. On the 5th of February, 1840, he left his convent, but did not return at night, nor make his appearance since. The 6th of February the French consul examined his cell, where every thing was found in proper order, and, amongst others, a sum of money, now said to have been ten thousand piastres, though another report says that one hundred and fifty thousand piastres were found, and that some persons pocketed the remaining one hundred and forty thousand piastres. The servant, too, I should mention, was missing. February 7th (being a Friday) notice was given to H. E. Schereef Pasha, who immediately instituted inquiry, at the demand of the French consul, as all the Latin priests enjoy French protection here. The inquiry instituted was of a double nature—first, to ascertain where Padre Tomaso was seen last; and, secondly, certain redoubtable shiekhs, (a species of Mohammedan impostors, pretending to the power of divination,) were called in to discover what had become of him by their preternatural powers. They declared that Tomaso and his servant were murdered by the Jews in their own quarter. And this was confirmed by the fact that Tomaso actually was in the Jewish quarter on the day of his disappearance, viz., at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon he was seen sticking up a notice of an auction, that was some time after to take place, at the door of a Jewish barber's shop. I heard some persons say that he was seen in the Jewish quarter a second time, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day; but this does not seem to be true. This, however, does not signify. It was now taken for granted that the Jews murdered Padre Tomaso and his servant, in order to secure their blood for the feast of unleavened bread, which was near at hand. Farach Katash, an elderly Jew, living in the Christian street, then came for-

ward and testified that he saw Tomaso so late as five o'clock in the evening of February 5th, in his (Christian) street; but for this he was put in prison. Saturday, February 8th, a certain Mohammedan of notoriously bad character, called Mohammed Telli, who was for some time in prison for debt, having heard of what was going on, said he knew all the bad characters amongst the Jews, and, if he were at liberty, he would soon discover the murderers. The French consul, hearing this, immediately procured his liberation, it is said, by paying his debt for him. At the suggestions of this man, who became afterwards so useful in the service of the French consulate, as well as of other like characters, who, voluntarily, or paid, acted as spies from the commencement, and on the allegations of the above-mentioned sheikhs, many arrests were made, all among the Jews.

"Amongst the Jews only, investigations, searches, and imprisonments were incessantly carried on. They also disinterred several dead persons on the Jewish burial-ground, lately buried, to see whether the missing persons might not be amongst them, or if the dead had any marks of violence about them, which they might have received in the attempt of murdering the monk or his servant; for it must be observed, and for the future borne in mind, that the monk himself, although about sixty years old, was yet in full vigor, of a tall stature, and of a hot temper, while his servant was notoriously robust, and more than of ordinary strength, as those testify who knew him. The poor Jews were, however, at last fixed upon as their murderers, who had no marks of violence at all about them. Sunday, February 9th, Salum, the barber, was also arrested like others; but, upon the entreaties of his wife, was the same day again set at liberty. This barber, a Jew, is about twenty years old, married about half a year, and supported himself partly by his trade, and partly by the alms occasionally given him by the more affluent Jews. He is very ignorant, and of rather low character. He is the same mentioned before, to whose shop door Padre Tomaso had fixed the notice of an auction on the day of his disappearance.

"Shereef Pasha sends for the chief rabbi, Yacoob Anthabi, and two other subordinate rabbis, Khakhams Sh'lomoh Arari and Khalphou Atia, and declares to them that if they do not discover the murderers within twenty-four hours, they should all three be beheaded, and sends them home again. They immediately repair to the synagogue, assemble together men, women, and children, and in the most solemn manner, blowing the horn,* etc., pronounce the severest excommunication they can against every Jew who should know any thing of the murder of the monk or his servant, no matter by whom committed, and not come forward to give evidence. Upon this a young man, a Jew, Yitskhach Yavoh, comes to the rabbis, and declares that on the fifth of February, going after his trade as usual, of selling tumbaco, he saw Padre Tomaso and his servant at a certain spot, about half an hour's walk from the Jewish quarter, on the road to Palakhia, about half an hour before sun-set, and that he there had the following words with the servant of the monk. He said to him, 'You have not bought any tumbaco of me for some time; buy some now.' But the servant answered him, 'I need none now, for I bought some to-day.' (This evidence is in perfect accordance with that of the first-mentioned Farach Katash, who is now in prison.) Yitskhach Yavoh is now sent to the French consul, where he repeats what he deposed before the rabbis; and the French consul sends him for trial to his excellency Schereef Pasha. His excellency becomes angry, and asks the unhappy man, 'Who dares to give evidence in favor of the Jews? —Who bribed you to give this false evidence?' The man vows that he says nothing but the truth; and, therefore, is laid down and flogged; and, insisting on the truth of his declaration, the flogging continues, till he gets upwards of five thousand lashes in succession. He is carried away lifeless, recovers for a while in the prison to which he is transported, but soon after dies! The Jews had great difficulty

* By the horn is meant the ram's horn, which the Jews use on new year's day and on the day of atonement.

in the ordinary purification of the dead which they undertook with him, previous to his burial, as the flesh fell entirely off from his bones!

"In the meanwhile the barber is going through various examinations and cross-examinations, but continues steadfast in one declaration, viz.:—that he did not at all see the monk put up the paper on his door; but stepping out of his shop, and seeing it up, asked some bystanders what paper it was, and who fixed it there? They answered him, it was a notice of an auction, put up just now by Padre Tomaso, who went further on. In the course of these examinations, the barber named six poor Jews, who had been in his shop during the day of the disappearance of the monk. Four of these, being in town, were immediately arrested, and imprisoned in the seraglio, and some of them subsequently tortured. The remaining two were in the surrounding villages, in their usual avocation, hawking about their humble stock of ware. After a day or two they return to Damascus, and are arrested and brought before the French consul, who threatens them with immediate death if they did not confess. They, however, as well as the four, persist in their simple tale of innocence, and are some time after liberated. They are yet in Damascus to tell their own story. It is here to be observed, that these poor men, as well as the barber himself, and several others of the poorer Jews, who are now at liberty again, were continually pressed and persuaded, by the faithful servant of the French consulate, Mohammed Telli, to implicate others, especially the great, as the safest means of escaping those tortures with which he threatened them. He was heard to hold like language, even in open court, to poor Jews, during the occasional short intervals of their severest tortures.

"On Wednesday, February 12th, the third of the barber's confinement at the French consul's, notwithstanding all the threats, promises, and persuasions, and the evil suggestions of Mohammed Telli, to implicate the great, no clue having been obtained from the barber, he is, by the French Consul, given over to the pasha for torture. His excellency, after

having in vain repeated to him the promises of reward, and free pardon for any guilty part he might himself have taken in the murders, provided he betrayed his accomplices, which promises the French consul had often pressed upon the poor man, ordered him first to be beaten in a most cruel manner; and this not availing, the brutal torture of a certain hellish machine is applied to him; this instrument has two screws, which are forced into the head, so that the eyes are pressed out of the sockets. The poor barber suffered this till his chin became quite white, while a convulsive trembling set every limb of his body in tremulous motion. He abides however in the assertion of entire ignorance as to the fate of the monk and his servant. He is now carried into the common prison, that abominable servant of cruelty, Mohammed Telli, becoming his nurse, and, as was heard by some of the then prisoners who are now free, upbraiding him for his folly in not implicating the great. Friday, Feb. 14, the poor man is again brought forth, and under cruel threats commanded to confess. He cries and trembles in his already lacerated body, avowing his innocence as before, but in vain; he is the second time lain under the stick, (rather curbage, as it is called,) and the flogging continues for some time, till his excruciating pains not affording him relief by a timely death, as fared Yitskhach Yavoh, at last reduced him to say something for his release. He now declares that on Wednesday evening, Feb. 5, he saw the monk in company with several of the wealthiest and most respectable Jews, in the Jewish street, near the house of David, (in Arabic, Dah-ood) Arari; but that he did not know whence they came, or whither they went. The following are the men he mentions:—Yoseph Arari, an aged man eighty years of age; and three brothers, nephews of the same—Aaron, aged fifty-five; Yitskhach, aged fifty; and David Arari, about forty; Yoseph Leniado, aged fifty; Moshey Salonickly, aged fifty; and Moshey Abulafia, aged forty. The first five very weak and sickly persons; the two last middling; all of them merchants of great consideration and wealth. They all deny the barber's statement, and are prepared for torture.

"But as fears were entertained that they could not stand any tortures on account of their constitutional weakness, a more lenient measure was resorted to. They were lodged each of them in a separate cell, soldiers appointed to stand by them, and not allow them any other posture but standing upon their legs, without sleep, etc., for thirty-six hours. So says one of my documents, while another, furnished me by a different channel, which agrees with the former in every leading particular, three days and three nights. I did not think it necessary to ask for the explanation of this apparent contradiction, as I did with reference to other details; but as it will be seen that this inhuman treatment was repeated by and by, it is possible that the first trial was three days and three nights, and the second thirty-six hours. For this conjecture I have ample ground.

"After the last-mentioned examination of the seven merchants, the barber is brought forth again, has entire impunity promised him for any guilt of his own, on the condition of a satisfactory confession, while Mohammed Telli continues to force his advice upon him. The barber first insists on his last deposition, but when he sees preparations making for his torture he offers to confess. He now declares, that on the evening of February 5th, the servant of David Arari came to him, ordering him to go to his master's house, in order to bleed him (D. Arari.) When he came there he saw seven merchants, mentioned before, sitting round, and Father Tomaso lying bound in a corner. The seven then offered him twelve hundred piastres, if he would kill the monk. He refused, and went away. He was hardly gone, he afterwards added, when he was called back, and they promised him two hundred piastres to keep secret what he had seen. He went home, without yet knowing what became of the unhappy monk.

"After this deposition, the barber is led back to his cell, and the seven merchants again brought forth for examination, but singly. They all alike declare their innocence, and now it is resolved to subject them to torture. David Arari is the first, but as he received the twentieth stroke, he

begins to foam at his mouth, and falls into all the dreadful convulsions of a patient in what is called "the falling sickness." They are then obliged to desist, nor was it expected that the rest would bear the brutal experiment better. Upon this the French consul, expressing his doubts, feigned or real, whether the first torture had been faithfully administered, whether the soldiers might not have been seduced to allow his victims to take rest, sleep, etc., or else, it was concluded, they would have confessed,—demanded a repetition of the same, and the seven merchants are again put on their legs, which would now scarcely support them, himself, by his underlings, and, it is said, sometimes personally, inspecting the due performance of their penance.

"The second torturous confinement took place February 17th, and they arrest the same day sixty-three young children from four to eight years of age, and put them in prison. These remain in prison twenty-eight days, being almost daily questioned and examined with threats and promises—asked whether they did not see their fathers, etc., kill Padre Tomaso, etc. The poor innocent children know of no guilt, and tell their little harmless tales. One of the dear little ones, however, is persuaded to answer a seductive question in the affirmative. He said his father killed the monk, and then threw him into a certain pit in the courtyard of his schoolmaster.

"The last tortures that took place were on the body of Rabbi Yacob Anthabi, who was requested to give the pasha a declaration in writing that the Jews require human blood. But the old man would rather die than give such a false declaration. This last case of torture took place after I had left Damascus. I was informed of it by letter, while at Beyrout.

"The tortures employed, were—first, flogging; secondly, soaking persons in large tanks of water in their clothes; thirdly, the head machine, by which the eyes are pressed out of their sockets; fourthly, tying up certain parts of the body, and ordering soldiers to twist them in such a manner that the poor sufferers grew almost mad from pain; fifthly,

standing upright for three days without being allowed any other posture, nor even to lean against the wall, and when they would fall down, being aroused up by the bystanding sentinels, with their bayonets ; sixthly, being dragged about in a large court, by their ears, till the blood gushed out ; seventhly, having thorns driven in between the nails and the flesh of their fingers and toes ; eighthly, having set fire to their beards till their faces are singed ; ninthly, having candles held under their noses so that the flame arises up into their nostrils. This last brutality was one night carried on with such pitiless perseverance that the wax dropped upon the poor sufferer's breasts. It was in the night, and the pasha being present could no longer endure the sight. He then went away, but put no stop to it." Such is Romanism in the nineteenth century!

These cruel and disgraceful proceedings did not take place without attracting the attention of most of the governments of Europe, and enlisting the sympathies both of Jews and Christians, in behalf of their suffering brethren. Early in June, 1840, Sir R. Peel called the attention of the British Parliament to this subject, and requested some interference on the part of the government. Viscount Palmerston assured him that this subject had, *some time previous*, come under consideration of Her Majesty's government, who had lost no time in taking steps of the nature of those which Sir R. Peel had proposed.

As early as the 27th of March, the elders of the Jewish congregation at Constantinople had despatched a letter to Messrs. Rothschild of London, in which they present a most affecting picture of the sufferings of their brethren at Rhodes and Damascus, state their own incapacity to afford any relief, owing to their being subject to a government not on friendly terms with the pasha of Egypt, and therefore entreat the interference of these benevolent and wealthy individuals, in behalf of their brethren in the East.

The subject instantly enlisted the feelings of the whole Jewish community in London. A circular was addressed to the heads of all the Jewish families in that city, and, on

June 23, a meeting took place at the great synagogue in Duke's-place, at which were present, Baron Rothschild, his brother, and all the wealthy Jews in the metropolis. At this meeting, in which Sir Moses Montefiore presided, resolutions were passed to this effect :—

"That the meeting acknowledged, with the deepest gratitude, the prompt interference of the British government in behalf of the Jews of the East; that they deem it important that some gentleman of rank and talent, delegated by the Jews of London, do accompany Monsieur Cremieux, the delegate from the Jews of Paris, to co-operate with him; that Sir Moses Montefiore, from his high moral character, influence and zeal, is particularly fitted to be the representative of the British Jews for such purpose, at the court of the pasha of Egypt. After whose appointment and acceptance, it was further resolved, that the meeting, impressed with the generosity, zeal and self-devotedness of Sir Moses Montefiore, in accepting their appointment, do tender him their grateful thanks in token of their admiration of his conduct."

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Van Ovan, Salomons, Raphael, Cohen and Montefiore. In the course of their eloquent remarks, the conduct of the French government was commented on with just severity. The wickedness of the accusation, and the cruelty of the trial were afterwards set in their true light. It was then insisted on, that in this proceeding at Damascus, was staked the moral character, not only of a few individuals in an eastern city, but of the whole community of Jews throughout the world. That the whole body were accused of being accessary to the crime of murder and human sacrifices; that as they were held up to the civilized world as assassins, and guilty of worse than pagan abominations, it was their duty to call on their rabbins throughout Europe, to give in their declarations, on oath, disowning these horrid practices. The subscriptions in behalf of their brethren, made at this meeting, amounted to about thirty-five thousand dollars.

Though the calumny now circulated against the Jews

had been repeatedly brought forward from interested motives in former times, and been as often refuted; though it could have obtained credence amongst none but the most ignorant; still the chief rabbi of the communities of the Jews in Britain, and the presiding rabbi of the Bevis Marks congregation, thought it their duty, each to address a letter to Sir Moses Montefiore, in which they disown all knowledge of such a rite as that laid to the charge of the Jews, and also show the impossibility that such a ceremony should ever have had existence among them. Rev. S. Hirschell remarked in his letter, that he had been the spiritual guide to the great Jewish communities in Britain for forty years, and that he had previously filled a similar office in Germany; that for more than ten generations, his ancestors had held the highest clerical dignities amongst the Jews; that their instructions had been transmitted from father to son, till they had reached him; so that if any one, from the office he has held, the instructions he has received, and the ancestors from whom he has descended, might be supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with the laws, precepts, customs, rites, ceremonies and observances of the Jews, he might with truth claim to be that man. He then takes the same awfully solemn oath, which rabbi Manasseh ben Israel took on the same accusation more than two hundred years ago, invoking all the curses mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomy to come upon him, if he ever knew the existence of such a horrid rite amongst the Jews. Sir Moses Montefiore received a similar protestation of ignorance as to the existence of any such rite, from David Meldola, presiding rabbi of the Bevis Marks congregation in London, a gentleman whose descent from a long line of ancestors who had held high ecclesiastical offices amongst his nation, made it impossible that he should be ignorant of any rite that should have had importance or even existence amongst the Jews.

A protest to the same effect was signed by large numbers of those in England, who had been converted from Judaism to Christianity. They solemnly declare, that they

never knew, or directly or indirectly heard, of such a custom as the using of Christian blood in any ceremony ; that they believe this charge, so often brought against them fomerly, and now lately revived, to be a foul and satanic falsehood.

But the interest in behalf of the unhappy Jews of Damascus was not confined to those of their own faith. A meeting of the merchants, bankers, etc., in London, took place early in July, in the Egyptian hall, Mansion-house, which was crowded to excess, for the purpose of taking the subject into consideration, and with a view of adopting such resolutions as should express the feelings of deep sympathy, which were entertained by the citizens of London, in the sufferings of the persecuted Jews.

Resolutions were adopted, in which the meeting express their deep sympathy for the sufferers, and their earnest hope, that an immediate and impartial trial will take place, so as to disprove, in the face of the whole world, the atrocious calumnies invented and propagated by their persecutors, for the infliction of cruelties almost unknown in the previous history of mankind : That they deem it right publicly to express their abhorrence of the use which has been made of torture for the purpose of extorting confessions from the unhappy persons accused, and also their hope, that this relic of a barbarous age will be from henceforth abolished : They also declare, that it is their earnest hope and prayer, that through the dissemination of sound principles in every country, all men may be considered as alike entitled to protection and the benefit of just laws impartially administered. After testifying their gratification that many persons of distinguished rank and station, as well as the government of the country, had testified their willingness to uphold the cause of suffering humanity, they direct that a copy of their resolutions be transmitted to Her Majesty's government, and to the representatives of the different powers resident at the English court, with a request, that they will transmit them to their respective gov ernments.

Another of these wicked conspiracies was brought against the Jews. The "Archives Israelites" for December, gives an account of recent occurrences in the Turkish dominions, which show that the Jews are still exposed to imminent danger, from the bigotry and violence of their infatuated neighbors. The unjust and cruel suspicions which led to the barbarous scenes in Damascus, are entertained by many, who are too ignorant and superstitious to perceive the injustice and folly of which they are guilty.

"This seems to be particularly the case as regards the population on the Island Marmora, which is situated about eight leagues from Constantinople, in the sea of the same name. The majority of inhabitants are Greeks. Twenty-five Israelites have settled there, who are engaged in the wine trade. Four or five of them have acquired a considerble fortune, and this is probably the reason why they have become an object of envy to their Greek neighbors, who seek their revenge by incessantly calumniating their religion in the most absurd and superstitious manner.

"It appears that one day a Greek laundress, on her return home from bleaching, missed her son, aged two years and a half, whom she had taken out with her. Every search was made in vain, until, after seven days, the body was found in the forest, amidst thorns and rubbish, mutilated by beasts of prey. The Greeks immediately spread the report that the child had been murdered by the Jews, for the purpose of using the blood for their religious observances. A surgeon certified the fact of the child having been murdered; and the corpse, when brought before the judge, was found to be circumcised, apparently with the view to fixing the charge upon the Jews. The caadi refused to entertain the charge, and referred the complaints to Constantinople.

"The Jews have appealed to Sir Stratford Canning, and requested his interposition, to ensure justice being done to them. But ever since this charge was brought forward, the Jews have been exposed to the most cruel persecution. Their houses are attacked, and they cannot show themselves in the streets without running the risk of being stoned.

They are forced to conceal themselves, and a stop is put to their trade. The adjoining islands also have raised the same cry among the Jews; and woe to the Israelite who falls into their hands! Several instances have occurred, in which individuals of that nation but narrowly escaped falling victims to the fanaticism of the enraged populace."

Yet another at Cairo, similar to that brought four years back against the Jews of Damascus, has just been brought to a termination here. Last Easter, a young Christian named Michel Bahum, suddenly disappeared: he was last seen entering the quarters of the Jews, and it was in consequence rumored that he had been assassinated, in order that his blood might be spread over the unleavened bread of the Hebrews. A complaint was lodged in form before Mehemet Ali, by the young man's mother. The Grand Rabbi, on hearing of this, proceeded, with the principal Jewish inhabitants, to his Highness, and in the name of the whole Jewish population besought him to take measures to put a stop to such an atrocious and ridiculous calumny. The deputation was very kindly received, and the Pasha promised to pay attention to the matter. He gave orders to the governor of Cairo to have the young man sought for and found; and the Jews on their part instituted an incessant search to discover him. For some time all their efforts were useless, until one day a Greek came forward, and offered for a considerable reward to produce the man. His proposition was agreed to, and on August 13th, four months after his disappearance, Michel Bahum was brought by the Greek to the Grand Rabbi. It appeared that he had quitted the office where he was employed, had sold in the Jews' quarter some objects belonging to him, and then fled into Upper Egypt. He had there remained concealed in the convent of St. Anthony. The Greek by some means discovered this, and had already prevailed on him to quit the convent, and accompany him. During the time the enquiries were going on, it is said Mehemet Ali would not permit any proceedings to be instituted against the Jews, and would not have permitted them even if the man had not been found. The Jews in Cairo are

loud in praising his good judgment in not paying attention to the horrid prejudices raised against the Jews in the East of late years. The French consul, M. Beneditti; the Tuscan consul, M. Champion; and the consul-general of Austria, M. de Laurin, took a lively interest in this affair, and have entitled themselves to the gratitude of the Jews.

Of late years there has been a very remarkable confluence of the Jews towards Palestine. A very recent English traveller encountered many Jews on their road to Jerusalem, who invariably replied to his queries, that they were going thither "to die in the land of their fathers." For many years past this desire has prevailed among the Hebrews. In all parts of the earth this extraordinary people, whose name and sufferings are in every nation under heaven, think and feel as one man on the great issue of their restoration: the utmost east and the utmost west, the north and the south, both large and small congregations, those who have frequent intercourse with their brethren and those who have none, entertain alike the same hopes and fears. Dr. Wolff, (Journal, 1833,) heard these sentiments from their lips in the remotest country of Asia; and Buchanan asserts, that whenever he went among the Jews of India he found memorials of their expulsion from Judea, and their belief of a return thither. Though they have seen the temple twice, and the city six times, destroyed, their confidence is not abated, nor their faith gone. For eighteen hundred years the belief has sustained them,—without a king, a prophet, or a priest,—through insult, poverty, torture, and death; and now in the nineteenth century, in the midst of march of intellect, what is better, in the far greater diffusion of the written Word of God, both among Jews and Christians, we hear a harmonious assent to the prayer that concludes every Hebrew festival, "The year that approaches, Oh bring us to Jerusalem!" This belief has not been forgotten, and is sustained by rabbinical tradition. Wherever scattered, they have always looked to it as a country which, at some period or other, should be again restored o them. They have long considered it a very great privilege

to close their days in Judea, and especially at Jerusalem; and many, at the extremity of life, have gone to lay their bones among those of their ancestors. We have seen that the two illustrious Spanish rabbins, Aben Ezra and Maimonides, although they died, the one at Rhodes and the other in Egypt, gave orders in their last moments that they should be buried within the borders of the Holy Land. Old and young, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, alike share in this fond longing for a final resting-place in Palestine. In every part of the world, the heart of the true Israelite beats high at the mention of his much-loved and revered "Holy City;" and morning and evening he turns his face to it at the period of prayer. But ever since 1832, when Mehemet Ali took possession of Syria, there has been a remarkable flocking of the Jews to Palestine. The precise number of them at present in the Holy Land, is estimated to amount to about forty thousand. They reside chiefly at the four cities which they consider as holy, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Saphet. The last-mentioned was destroyed by an earthquake in January, 1837, before which time seven thousand Jews were resident there. It is again rising out of its ruins, and now contains about two thousand Israelite inhabitants. There is a Hebrew tradition that the Messiah will first appear in this place; which is situated on the summit of one of the mountains in the neighborhood of the Sea of Galilee, and is supposed to be the very town pointed out by our Lord, when, during his sermon on the Mount, he said, "a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid," (Matt. v. 14.) In Jerusalem, which contains six synagogues, there are said to be about ten thousand Jews; in Hebron, seven or eight hundred; and in Tiberias, twelve hundred. For the last two years the influx of Jews has been somewhat diminished, owing to the ravages of the plague, the increased price of provisions, the embarrassed finances of the Hebrew community, and the oppression of their rabbis.

The following animated description of the Jews at Jerusalem, from Wilde's Travels in Palestine, deserves notice, as the author states many important particulars concerning

the present state of a great number of that wonderful nation who are now living as strangers in the home of their forefathers.

"The Jews inhabit a particular portion of the southern part of the city, the Haret-el-Youd, between the foot of Zion and the enclosure of the mosque of Omar, and are not the least interesting of the objects presented to the traveller in the Holy City.

"This extraordinary people, the favored of the Lord, the descendants of the patriarchs and prophets, and the aristocracy of the earth, are to be seen in Jerusalem to greater advantage, and under an aspect, and in a character totally different from that which they present in any other place on the face of the globe. In other countries, the very name of Jew has associated with it cunning, deceit, usury, traffic, and often wealth. But here, in addition to the usual degradation and purchased suffering of a despised, stricken, outcast race, they bend under extreme poverty, and wear the aspect of a weeping and a mourning people; lamenting over their fallen greatness as a nation, and over the prostrate grandeur of their once proud city. Here the usurer is turned into the pilgrim, the merchant into the priest, and the inexorable creditor into the weeping suppliant. Without wealth, without traffic, they are supported solely by the voluntary contributions of their brethren throughout the world. I think I am warranted in stating, that the number of Jews now in Jerusalem is greater than at any other period in modern times. The population of any eastern city is with great difficulty accurately ascertained, owing to the total absence of statistical or municipal tables, as well as to the immense floating population, hundreds arriving at night, and passing out in the morning; besides, here the number of pilgrims varies daily. The entire resident population of the city is about thirty-five thousand; of which ten thousand are Jews, ten thousand Christians, ten thousand Mohammedans, and about five thousand foreigners, or partial residents, including the garrison. As a rough guess would but little approximate to the truth, and as many contradictory accounts have

been published of the number of Jews resident in Jerusalem, I have used every means of procuring correct information on this subject. The Latins and the Jewish rabbis themselves, whom I severally consulted, both agreed in stating that the number is greater now than at any other period in latter times of which they have any record, and that at the lowest calculation it amounted to the number I have stated. The period is not very distant, when the Turkish law permitted no more than three hundred Jews to reside within the walls.

"A vast concourse of this people flocked to Jerusalem at the time that Syria was occupied by the Egyptians, and afterwards on the conquest of Algiers. Within these two or three years, however, the extreme scarcity of provisions has deterred others from going there, and the number has not been so great as heretofore. With all this accumulated misery, with all this insult and scorn heaped upon the Israelite here, more even than in any other country, why, it will be asked, does he not fly to other and happier lands? Why does he seek to rest under the shadow of Jerusalem's walls? Independently of that natural love of country which exists among this people, two objects bring the Jew to Jerusalem —to study the Scriptures and the Talmud,—and then to die, and have his bones laid with his forefathers in the valley of Jehoshaphat, even as the bones of the patriarchs were carried up out of Egypt. No matter what the station or the rank,—no matter what, or how far distant the country where the Jew resides, he still lives upon the hope that he will one day journey Zionward. No clime can change, no season quench, that patriotic ardor with which the Jew beholds Jerusalem, even through the vista of a long futurity. On his first approach to the city, while yet within a day's journey, he puts on his best apparel; and when the first view of it bursts upon his sight, he rends his garments, falls down to weep and pray over the long-sought object of his pilgrimage, and with dust sprinkled on his head, he enters the city of his forefathers. No child ever returned home after a long absence with more yearnings of affection; no

proud baron ever beheld his ancestral towers and lordly halls, when they had become another's, with greater sorrow than the poor Jew when he first beholds Jerusalem. This, at least, is patriotism.

"After surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings; still it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine, and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. 'The air of the land of Israel,' says one, 'makes a man wise;' another writes, 'he who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life to come.' 'The great wise men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to *embracc its ruins*, and roll themselves in its dust.' 'The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel.' He who is buried there is reconciled with God, as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan first come to life in the days of the Messiah.

"In Jerusalem alone, of any place upon the earth, is the Hebrew spoken as a conversational language; for, although the Scriptures are read, and the religious rites performed in Hebrew, in the various countries in which the Jews are scattered, yet they speak the language of the nations among whom they are located. And, as the last link of that chain which binds them to home and to happiness, they, like other oppressed nations, cling to it with rapturous delight. And it is the only door by which the missionary there has access to the Jew; for they have themselves said to me, 'We cannot resist the holy language.'

"Most of the Jews are learned, and many spend the principal part of their time in studying the Scriptures or the Talmud, while others are engaged in discussing the law, and disputing in the synagogues, or in weeping over Jerusalem. They are particularly courteous to strangers, and seem anxious to cultivate intercourse with Franks.

"But of all the phases under which the Jews can be seen,

the most deeply interesting is that exhibited when they collect to weep over the stones of Jerusalem, that I have already described as belonging to the ancient city, and situated in the western wall of the court of the temple.

"One day during my stay, the whole congregation met upon the anniversary of the great earthquake at Saphet, where so many of their brethren were destroyed. It was a touching sight, and one that years will not efface, to witness this mourning group, and hear them singing the songs of David, in the full, expressive language in which they were written, beneath Mount Zion, on which they were composed, and before those very walls that in other times rang with the same swelling chorus. But not now are heard the joyous tones of old; for here every note was swollen with a sigh, or broken with a sob, the sighs of Judah's mourning maidens, the sobs and smothered groans of the patriarchs of Israel. And that heart must indeed be sadly out of tune, whose chords would not vibrate to the thrilling strains of Hebrew song, when chanted by the sons and daughters of Abraham, in their native city.

"Much as they venerate the very stones that now form the walls of this enclosure, they dare not set foot within its precincts; for the crescent of the Moslem is glittering from the minaret, and the blood-red banner of Mahomet is waving over their heads.

"Were I asked, what was the object of the greatest interest that I had seen, and the scene that made the deepest impression upon me, during my sojourn in other lands, I would say, that it was a Jew mourning over the stones of Jerusalem. And what principle, what feeling is it, it may be asked, that can thus keep the Hebrew, through so many centuries, still yearning towards his native city, still looking forward to his restoration, and the coming of the Messiah? Hope, hope is the principle that supports the Israelite through all his sufferings, with oppression for his inheritance, sorrow and sadness for his certain lot, the constant fear of trials, bodily pain, and mental anguish, years of disgrace, and a life of misery; without a country and without

a home; scorned, robbed, insulted and reviled; the power of man, and even death itself, cannot obliterate that feeling."

The really sincere among the European Jews are now looking with longing eyes in the direction of the Holy Land. An opinion is prevalent among them that they shall speedily be restored to their own country; and they believe that the changes which have lately taken place in the East, are designed by the Most High as preparatory to a signal manifestation of his favor towards his ancient people.* A singu-

* The following stirring appeal to the Jews, with reference to their return to Palestine, by one of their own nation, appeared in "Der Orient," an able and influential journal, conducted by a learned Israelite of Leipsic, on the 27th of June, 1840:—

"The day of the Lord will appear; His wrath rests not for ever on the unhappy seed of Abraham! For ages he has led us through the wilderness of privation and wo; but the trial is coming to an end. Already dawns the day of redemption from the East, from the land of our fathers, the loss of which we weep with tears of blood. Our inheritance, rent from us by the destroying sword of the Romans, laid waste and desolate by inundations of Arabs, Seldshucks, Mongols, and Osmans, is expecting its lawful possessors to rise from annihilation to the eminence which David, the ruler of Jerusalem and Damascus, once conferred upon it.

"*Now or never.* The Turkish empire is falling to ruin; the Sclavonian provinces of the north have created their own government: Greece has severed itself: the Wallachians number the days till their perfect independence: the Arabs, led on by Mehemet Ali's powerful sceptre, have given the last blow to the sinking throne of Osman: no power on earth will prevent its total overthrow. Already the fire of discord flames in the heart of the empire. In Adrianople and Smyrna, Christians and Turks stand opposed to each other. *Will Israel alone hide his hand in his bosom?* The events of the East are the finger of the Lord; a sphere is there opening to us; there will our fate be decided! Have we then for so many centuries, and even to this day, so undauntedly preserved our paternal manners and customs, our language and religion, amid so many storms, among the northern strangers, for nothing else but annihilation allured by a pitiful political emancipation? After endless petitioning, some few privileges, curtailed on every side, are thrown to us out of compassion or greedy speculation. And to whose favor at last do we owe these niggardly gifts? The people who have never tolerated us as neighbors but with malicious eye? By the people and their leaders we are as much hated as ever. Look at the states where the democratic element preponderates; hatred and contempt,

lar instance of anxiety to repair to Palestine has lately been given by the Polish Jews. Thirty thousand of them presented a petition to the Emperor Nicholas, requesting him to allow them to proceed thither in a body to await, during

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but no kindness! As strangers, we are tolerated; but nowhere sought after, nowhere loved. The distinction between the Schemetic southern stock, and the fair children of the north, is too indelibly marked both on body and mind to render an amalgamation possible. We are neither Germans nor Sclavonians, nor yet Italians, nor Greeks; we are the children of Israel, kindred of the Arabs, who carried their glorious arms from the Caucasus to the pillars of Hercules. Unspeakable misfortunes compelled us to claim the rights of hospitality from foreign nations, but not for ever shall we be trampled under their feet, deprived of the sacred name of father-land.

"We have a country, the inheritance of our fathers, finer, more fruitful, better situated for commerce, than many of the most celebrated portions of the globe. Environed by the deep delled Tarus, the lively shores of the Euphrates, the lofty steppes of Arabia, and of rocky Sinai, our country extends along the shores of the Mediterranean, crowned by the towering cedars of Lebanon, the source of a hundred rivulets and brooks, which spread fruitfulness over shady dales, and confer wealth upon the contented inhabitants. A glorious land! situated at the furthest extremity of the sea which connects three quarters of the globe, over which the Phœnicians, our brethren, sent their numerous fleets to the shores of Albion, and the rich coasts of Lithuania, near to both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; the perpetual courses of the traffic of the world, on the way from Persia and India to the Caspian and Black Sea; the central country of the commerce between the east and west.

"Every country has its peculiarity, every people their own nature. Syria, with its extensive surrounding plains, unfavorable to regular cultivation, is a land of transit, of communication, of caravans. No people of the earth have lived so true to their calling from the first as we have done; we are a trading people, born for the country where little food is necessary, and this is furnished by nature almost spontaneously to the temperate inhabitants, but not for the heavy soils of the ruder north.

"In no country of the earth are our brethren so numerous as in Syria; in none do they live in as dense masses, so independent of the surrounding inhabitants; in none do they persevere so steadfastly in their faith in the promise of the fathers, as on the beautiful shores of the Orontes. In Damascus alone live nearly sixty thousand.

"The Arab has maintained his language and his original country; on the Nile, in the deserts, as far as Sinai, and beyond Jordan he feeds his flocks.

three years, the coming of the Messiah ; promising to return to Poland and embrace the Christian faith, if their expected Deliverer should not appear within that time. Those of Palestine, however, warmly dissuaded their brethren from

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In the elevated plains of Asia Minor the Turkoman has conquered for himself a second country, the birth-place of the Osman ; but Syria and Palestine are depopulated. For centuries the battle-field between the sons of Altai and of the Arabian wilderness, the inhabitants of the west and the half nomadic Persians, none have been able to establish themselves and maintain their nationality ; no nation can claim the names of Syrian. A chaotic mixture of all tribes and tongues, remnants of migrations from north and south, they disturb one another in the possession of the glorious land, where our fathers so many centuries emptied the cup of joy and wo, where every clod is drenched with the blood of our heroes when their bodies were buried under the ruins of Jerusalem.

"The power of our enemies is gone, the angel of discord has long since mown down their mighty hosts, and yet ye do not bestir yourselves, people of Jehovah! What hinders? Nothing but our own supineness! No Pharoah will prevent our pilgrimage, no legions stop our course. If the Christians have found means to force the passage of the Dardanelles through the midst of hostile and warlike nations, why should not we, who have nowhere enemies? Think you, that Mehemet Ali or the Sultan in Stamboul will not be convinced that it would be better for him to be the protector of a peaceful and wealthy people, than with infinite loss of men and money to contend against the ever-repeated, mutually provoked insurrections of the Turks and Arabs, of whom neither the one nor the other are able to give prosperity to the country?

"It needs no extraordinary efforts to take possession of Syria, at least under Egyptian supremacy. If the Servians and Greeks have found protection, why should not we, the friends of all the monarchs of Europe? France lavishes blood and treasure to civilize Africa ; India flourishes under the British sceptre ; the hordes of the Mongols learn agriculture under the strong hand of Russia ; shall no government be found to rescue Syria from desolating anarchy, to erect there a school of humanity and civilization for the East?

"Our probation was long, in all countries, from the north pole to the south! There is no trade, no art, which we have not practised, no science in which we cannot show splendid examples. Where will you find better proclaimers of civilization to the wild tribes of the East?

"People of Jehovah, raise yourselves from your thousand years' slumber! Rally round leaders ; have really the will—a Moses will not be wanting. The rights of nations will never grow old ; take possession of

taking such a step; and it seems very unlikely that their petition would be favorably received by the emperor, who is exceedingly jealous of all movements among his Hebrew subjects.*

In Persia, the condition of the Jews is peculiarly hard. The Rev. Joseph Wolff, who visited them as a missionary in 1825 and 1826, described their oppression in the following language :—

"Every house at Shiraz, with a low narrow entrance, is a Jew's. Every man, with a dirty woolen, or dirty camel hair turban, is a Jew. Every coat, much torn and mended about the back, with worn sleeves, is a Jew's. Every one picking up old broken glass, is a Jew. Every one searching for dirty robes, and asking for old shoes and sandals, is a Jew. That house into which no quadruped but a goat will enter, is a Jew's.

"In reporting to you this description, I wish you to know that I do not joke about the misery of my brethren; but really this is exactly the condition of the Jews at Shiraz. On my entering the Jewish quarter at Shiraz, I saw old and young men, and old and young women, sitting in the street and begging; their heads were bowed to the ground and fainting; and stretching out their hands, they cried after me with a fainting voice, 'Only one *pool!* I am a poor Israale! I am a poor Israael!' I distributed some trifle among them, and several of the Jews said to me, 'Are you arrived? We have heard that you are a son of Israel, and have brought with you the Gospel in Hebrew. Give us the Gospel!' I told them that I intended to visit them in their houses; and whilst I was speaking with them, I heard the poor Jews and Jewesses crying, 'I am a poor Israale! I am a poor Israale! One pool, only one pool! I am a poor Israale!' And others sat in the street, and ate onions and

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the land of your fathers; build a third time the temple on Zion, greater and more magnificent than ever. Trust in the Lord, who has led you safely through the vale of misery thousands of years. He also will not forsake you in your last conflict."

* Church of England Magazine, May, 1840.

begged bread, and exclaimed, 'Only one pool! I am a poor Israale!' I went home, and said to myself, 'What a sight have I seen!' and with tears I repeated the words of my brethren, 'Only one pool! I am a poor Israale!'

"One of the rabbis remarked to me," says Mr. Wolff, "none of the Jews scattered in the world expect, and have reason to expect, the Messiah with more anxiety, than those Jews scattered throughout Persia; for the Gentiles in Persia do not only compel us to pay heavy tribute, but they have likewise set over us task-masters, to afflict us with their burdens; every Persian is a Haman to us. They make us serve with rigor; we must work for them without being paid; and, like Pharaoh of old, they make our lives bitter with hard bondage. Read the Bible, and see how all the children of Israel have suffered, as well in Egypt as in Babel, and you will then know well what we suffer here. O! what we suffer in Persia cannot be described! The father goes daily with fear to the market-place; for he is always in fear that, whilst he is buying bread for his family, the prince or the governor has carried away his daughter for the harem, or his little son to make him an eunuch. Not long ago, eight Jewish girls were taken at Shiraz by the express order of the Shah! At Ispahan five daughters of Israel were taken for the harem of the governor! They are lost to the parents forever; for we cannot go and say, give us back our daughters! By what crimes have we then deserved this furious intolerance? what is our guilt? is it in that generous constancy which we have manifested in defending the laws of our fathers? But this constancy ought to have entitled us to the admiration of all nations, and it has only sharpened against us the dagger of persecution—braving all kinds of torments, the pangs of death, the still more terrible pangs of life!

The Rev. H. A. Stern, missionary of the London Society, says:—"I will now give you some particulars relative to the state of oppression in which our Jewish brethren are kept by the Moslems, which I learned from the mullahs, or rabbis.

"I. They have not justice rendered unto them. Any Gentile can inflict upon them any punishment he may choose, with the greatest impunity.

"II. They dare not dress themselves respectably, else they would be suspected of being rich, and would consequently be plundered.

"III. If they possess anything of value, the Moslems are sure to seize it.

"IV. It is dangerous for a Jew to go out on Friday, that being one of the Moslems' sacred days.

"V. When it rains, they are subject to great annoyances if they go out, as they may splash a Moslem, and so pollute him.

"VI. When a Moslem charges them with a crime, the whole town is sure to believe it, and they are ready to massacre them all. Last year some pilgrims from Mesjid Ali spread a report that the Jews in Bagdad, aided by the Turks, had effected some mischief. The whole town was immediately in an uproar. The Moslems cried, 'The Jews are our enemies, and must be destroyed.' And it was only by the payment of a large sum of money that they escaped from destruction.

"Their position in Hamadan is indeed painful, and the marks of oppression are visible in every countenance. In Bagdad, the Jews are fine noble-looking men, and walk with all the gravity and independence imaginable; here, they go about with their heads bowed down, their countenance pale and emaciated; and their cringing slavish appearance and demeanor, stamps them all with the badge of oppression. Let the sceptic and the infidel see Israel in these regions, and the scales of ignorance and delusion, one would imagine, must fall from his eyes, and he would be compelled to confess that Moses was a prophet indeed, and that the prophecies are not the productions of a speculative head, but of an inspired pen. The curses are indeed terribly fulfilled here. In Hamadan there are thirty Jewish families who came from Khorassin, where they were so fiercely persecuted a few years since, that they were glad to escape on any terms;

some fled to the adjacent countries, others saved themselves by professing Islamism. Such is the condition of the Jews in Persia. We were told that they were less oppressed in Teheran; but this we shall soon have an opportunity, I trust, of ascertaining—and will send you the result of our inquiries in a future letter."

The following conversation took place between Mr. S. and the rabbis :—

Missionary. How long have you been in this country ?

Rabbi. Since the time of Cyrus.

M. From what tribe are you descended ?

R. From the tribe of Judah.

M. Has your community here always remained as it is now ?

R. No. A hundred years since there were thirteen synagogues in this place, and a very great number of Jews, but the Ishmaelites have only left us three, and one which was erected a few years since, they destroyed before it was completed.

Second Rabbi. On account of our sins we are in captivity, and on account of our sins the Goim (or Gentiles) rule over us, and on account of our sins we are exiles in this country.

M. Yes ; on account of the sin of which you are guilty in rejecting Jesus of Nazareth, the wrath of God is come upon you to the uttermost. But believe in Jesus, His blood will cleanse you from all your sins

R. Give me the Gospel and I will read it.

One of these two Mullahs is the most learned Jew in Persia, and is greatly respected both by Jews and Moslems.

Dr. Wolff, in his narrative of a mission to Bokhara, in the years 1843-1845, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, states thus : —

" I will give you the following account : — When I visited Meshed, in 1831, I found there two hundred and thirty families of the Jews, the cleanest and most interesting of any throughout Persia. They did not, however, occupy their time in the study of the prophets, but in reading the Persian writers, Hafiz, Saadi, and Ferdusi, &c. Two years and a

half ago, I found, to my great sorrow, the whole of them had apostatized and become Mohamedans. The cause of the change was this: — Six or seven years ago, a poor Jewess, who had a bad hand, asked the advice of a Mohamedan physician, who told her to kill a dog and dip her hand in the blood. She did so, and it happened to be at the time of Bairam, one of the Mohamedan feasts, when they offer a sacrifice. One Sayeed, i. e. one of the descendants of Muhamad, the prophet, assembled the Mohamedans in the great mosque of Imam Resa, at Meshed, and exclaimed, 'People of Mohamed, the Jews have sacrificed on the holy day of Bairam a dog, in derision of our religion. I therefore shall only pronounce two words, which will tell you what to do, and these two words are, 'Allah daad.'" The meaning of these two words are "God has given!" Upon this, thousands of Mussulmans rushed to the houses of the Jews, shouting "Allah daad!" burnt, destroyed, and plundered their houses, and killed thirty-five of them! The rest of the Jews, smitten with consternation, to save their lives, cried out, "There is God, and nothing but God, and Mohamed, the prophet of God!" A few good old men, however, exclaimed, "Hear, Israel! the Lord our God is one Lord! The law of Moses is truth, and the prophets are truth!" and immediately their heads were struck off! The anniversary on which the Jews were massacred, is now called by the Mohamedans, as well as by the Jews of Meshed, "The year of Allah daad!" i. e. the year in which the Jews were given into the hands of the Mussulmans! I have lived in one of the houses of these poor Jews, where they in secret worship the God of their fathers in their own way. It was on the Day of the Atonement, when most of them, especially their women, fasted the whole day. The poor Jewesses tell their children, "Never forget that you are of the seed of Israel, and remember the day of Allah daad!" The Mohamedans suspecting them, have established a regular Inquisition, like that of the Inquisition in Spain, against these poor apostates. In some letters I brought from them for Sir Moses Montefiore, they state their

great desire to leave Meshed, and to go to Jerusalem. I saw one of these poor Jews, Rakhmim by name, who on the day of Allah daad apostatized, but soon after became mad, and runs now about in the streets of Meshed, and continually exclaims, "Allah daad!" He tears every cloth they give him, and exclaims, "Allah daad!" I asked him why he did not dress himself? His answer is, "Allah daad! Allah daad!" He went about on the day of Ramazan, when all the Mohamedans fast, but with a piece of bread in his hand. The Muhamadans look at him, and ask him, "Why do you eat?" His answer is, "Allah daad!" when they leave him alone; for the Mohamedans never strike or kill a madman. I said one day to him, "Rakhmim, if I give you new clothes, will you wear them?" "Oh yes," he answered, "I will wear what Mullah Joseph Wolff gives me!" Three days afterwards, I saw him, and observed that he had torn the new clothes. I asked him why he had torn them? "Allah daad! Allah daad!" was his answer. Now my dear friends, I tell you all here, "Allah daad!" God has given the Jews of Meshed into your hands; you can certainly do a great deal for them, to bring them out of this misery! and to bring them to the Lord Jesus Christ! If you do, then really it will be "Allah daad!" in the best sense of the word."

In Yemen, the ancient Arabia Felix, there are about two hundred thousand Jews, who have eighteen synagogues in the chief town, Sana. Their houses are very neat, and their copies of the Law are beautifully written. Their brethren in Bagdad, Bussora, and Bombay, correspond with them. Polygamy exists among this branch of the Hebrew family. They affirm that their ancestors never returned to Jerusalem after the burning of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar; assigning to Ezra as the reason why they declined his invitation to go up with him, that they would not quit their habitations until the "Messiah should come." One of the rabbis of Yemen told Dr. Wolff his brethren believed, that in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, the sufferings of the Messiah, before he should enter into his glory, were described.

But there is no place in Arabia more remarkable for its Hebrew population than Aden, which has lately been occupied by British troops. The majority of the inhabitants of this place are Jews; generally poor, being carpenters, stone masons, and artisans of various kinds. A few are silversmiths, but scarcely any are merchants; though, while it was in possession of the native prince, some acted in the capacity of clerks or writers to him. The Israelites here are strict Talmudists, untainted by the scepticism now so prevalent among their brethren in continental Europe. They have a synagogue, very regularly and devoutly attended; and three public schools, in which the young are taught to read Hebrew. Many are instructed at home; and it is believed that almost all the Jewish children of the district either publicly or privately acquire the ability to read. Both the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the community are regulated by the chief of the synagogue, and four elders, who act as his assessors. The Israelites of Aden have many copies of the Law, as well as other portions of the Old Testament, and likewise some sections of the Talmud, on which they set a high value. They hold constant intercourse with their brethren in the interior. The burying-grounds of the town cover several acres, and the majority of the inscriptions on the tombstones are in Hebrew characters.

The following paragraph, which lately appeared in a German paper, under the head of Leipsic, is calculated to lead to some interesting inquiries respecting the fate of the Ten Tribes:—

"After having seen, for some years past, merchants from Tiflis, Persia, and Armenia, among the visitors at our fair, we have had, for the first time, *two traders from Bucharia with shawls, which are there manufactured of the finest wool of the goats of Tibet and Cashmere*, BY THE JEWISH FAMILIES, *who form a third part of the population.* In Bucharia (formerly the capital of Sogdiana) the Jews have been very numerous ever since the Babylonian captivity, and are there as remarkable for their industry and manufactures as they are in England for their money transactions. It was not till

last year, that the Russian government succeeded in extending its diplomatic missions far into Bucharia. The above traders exchanged their shawls for coarse and fine woollen cloths, of such colors as are most esteemed in the East."

Much interest has been excited by the information which this paragraph conveys, and which is equally novel and important. In none of the geographical works which we have consulted, do we find the least hint as to the existence, in Bucharia, of such a body of Jews as that here mentioned, amounting to one-third of the whole population; but as the fact can no longer be doubted, the next point of inquiry which presents itself, is, whence have they proceeded, and how have they come to establish themselves in a region so remote from their original country? This question, we think, can only be answered by supposing, that these persons are the descendants of the long-lost Ten Tribes, concerning the fate of which theologians, historians, and antiquaries, have been alike puzzled; and, however wild this hypothesis may at first appear, there are not wanting circumstances to render it far from being improbable. In the 17th chapter of the second book of Kings, it is said, "In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes;" and in the subsequent verses, as well as in the writings of the prophets, it is said, that the Lord then "put away Israel out of his sight, and carried them away into the land of Assyria, unto this day." In the Apocrypha, 2d Esdras, xiii. it is said, that the Ten Tribes were carried beyond the river (Euphrates,) and so they were brought into another land, when they took counsel together, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt; that they entered in at the narrow passages of the river Euphrates, when the springs of the flood were stayed, and "went through the country a great journey, even of a year and a half:" and it is added, that "there they will remain until the latter time, when they will come forth again." The

country beyond Bucharia was unknown to the ancients; and it is, we believe, generally admitted that the river Gozan, mentioned in the Book of Kings, is the same as the Ganges, which has its rise in those very countries, in which the Jews reside, of whom the Leipsic account speaks. The distance which these two merchants must have travelled cannot, therefore, be less than three thousand miles; and there can be little doubt that the Jews, whom they represent as a third part of the population of the country, are descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel, settled by the river Gozan.

The great plain of Central Asia, forming four principal sides, viz., Little Bucharia, Thibet, Mongols, and Mancheous, contains a surface of 150,000 square miles, and a population of 20,000,000. This vast country is still very little known. The great traits of its gigantic formation compose, for the most part, all that we are certain of. It is an immense plain of an excessive elevation, intersected with barren rocks, and vast deserts, of a black and almost moving sand. It is supported on all sides by mountains of granite, whose elevated summits determine the different climates of the great continent of Asia, and form the division of its waters. From its exterior flow all the great rivers of that part of the world. In the interior are a quantity of rivers, having little declivity, or no issue, which are lost in the sands, or perhaps feed stagnant waters. In the southern chains are countries, populous, rich, and civilized; Little Bucharia, Great and Little Thibet. The people of the north are shepherds and wanderers. Their riches consist in their herds. Their habitations are tents, and town camps, which are transported according to the want of pasturage. The Bucharians enjoy the right of trading to all parts of Asia, and the Thibetians cultivate the earth to advantage. The ancients had only a confused idea of Central Asia. "The inhabitants of this country," as we learn from a great authority, "are in a high state of civilization; possessing all the useful manufactures, and lofty houses built with stone. The Chinese reckon (but this is evidently an exaggeration) that Thibet alone contains 33,000,000 of persons.

The merchants of Cashmere, on their way to Yarkand, in Little Bucharia, pass through Little Thibet. This country is scarcely known to European geographers." The immense plain of Central Asia is hemmed in, and almost inaccessible by mountain ranges of the greatest elevation, which surround it on all sides, except towards China; and when the watchful jealousy of the government of the Celestial Empire is considered, it will scarcely be wondered at that the vast region in question is so little known.

Such is the country which these newly-discovered Jews are said to inhabit in such numbers. The following facts may, perhaps, serve to throw some additional light on this interesting subject.

In the year 1822, a Mr. Sargon, who, if we mistake not, was one of the agents to the London Society, communicated to England some interesting accounts of a number of persons resident at Bombay, Cannanore, and their vicinity, who were evidently the descendants of Jews, calling themselves Beni-Israel, and bearing, almost uniformly, Jewish names, but with Persian terminations. This gentleman, feeling very desirous to obtain all possible knowledge of their condition, undertook a mission for this purpose to Cannanore; and the result of his inquiries was, a conviction that they were not Jews of the one tribe and a half, being of a different race to the white and black Jews at Cochin, and, consequently, that they were a remnant of the long-lost Ten Tribes. This gentleman also concluded, from the information he obtained respecting the Beni-Israel, that they existed in great numbers in the countries between Cochin and Bombay, the *north* of *Persia*, among the hordes of *Tartary* and in *Cashmere;* the very countries in which, according to the paragraph in the German paper, they exist in such numbers. So far, then, these accounts confirm each other, and there is every probability that the Beni-Israel, resident on the west of the Indian Peninsula, had originally proceeded from Bucharia. It will, therefore, be interesting to know something of their moral and religious character. The following particulars are collected from Mr. Sargon's accounts.—1. In

dress and manners they resemble the natives, so as not to be distinguished from them, except by attentive observation and inquiry. 2. They have Hebrew names of the same kind, and with the same local terminations, as the Sepoys in the ninth regiment Bombay Native Infantry. 3. Some of them read Hebrew, and they have a faint tradition of the cause of their original Exodus from Egypt. 4. Their common language is the Hindoo. 5. They keep idols and worship them, and use idolatrous ceremonies intermixed with Hebrew. 6. They circumcise their own children. 7. They observe the Kippoor, or great expiation-day of the Hebrews, but not the Sabbath, or any feast or fast days. 8. They call themselves *Gorah Jehudi*, or White Jews; and they term the Black Jews *Collah Jehudi*. 9. They speak of the Arabian Jews as their brethren, but do not acknowledge the European Jews as such, because they are of a fairer complexion than themselves. 10. They use on all occasions, and under the most trivial circumstances, the usual Jewish Prayer, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." 11. They have no cohen (priest,) levite, or casi among them, under those terms; but they have a kasi (reader,) who performs prayers and conducts their religious ceremonies; and they appear to have elders and a chief in each community, who determine in their religious concerns. 12. They expect the Messiah, and that they will one day return to Jerusalem. They think that the time of his appearance will soon arrive, at which they much rejoice, believing that at Jerusalem they will see their God, worship him only, and be despised no more.

This is all the information that can be collected from the accounts of Mr. Sargon. The celebrated Oriental Geographer, Ibn Haukal, however, describes with great minuteness, under the appellation of *Mawer-al-nahr*, the region in which these Jews are said to have been discovered. He speaks of it generally as one of the most flourishing and productive provinces within the dominion of Islam, and describes the people as distinguished for probity and virtue, as averse from evil, and fond of peace. "Such is their liberality,"

says he, "that no one turns aside from the rites of hospitality; so that a person contemplating them in the night, would imagine that all the families in the land were but one house. When a traveller arrives there, every person endeavors to attract him to himself, that he may have opportunities of performing kind offices for the stranger; and the best proof of their hospitable and generous disposition is, that every peasant, though possessing but a bare sufficiency, allows a portion of his cottage for the reception of his guest. Thus, in acts of hospitality they expend their incomes. Never have I heard of such things in any other country. The rich and great lords of most other places expend their treasures on particular favorites, in the indulgence of gross appetites, and sensual gratifications. The people of Mawer-al-nahr employ themselves in a useful and rational manner; they lay out their money in erecting caravanseries, or inns, &c.—You cannot see any town, or stage, or even desert, without a convenient inn or stagehouse, for the accommodation of travellers, with everything necessary. I have heard that there are above two thousand nehats or inns, where, as many persons as may arrive, shall find sufficient forage for their beasts, and meat for themselves."

These particulars, we should presume, can scarcely fail to prove interesting both in a moral and religious, as well as in a geographical point of view. The number of the scattered members of the tribe of Judah and the half-tribe of Benjamin, rather exceed than fall short of five millions. Now, if to this number be added the many other millions to be found in the different countries of the East, what an immense power would be brought into action were the spirit of the nationality once roused, or any extraordinary event to occur, which should induce them to unite in claiming possession of that land, which was given to them for an "heritage for ever," and to which, in every other clime of the earth, their fondest hopes and their dearest aspirations never cease to turn!

Dr. Wilson, missionary to the church of Scotland, gives this account of the Beni-Israel:—

"The Beni-Israel possess no historical documents peculiar to themselves: they have no charters granted by native princes, which are often a source of curious information; and their traditions are extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Their ancestors, they say, came to the coast of India, from a country to the northward, about sixteen hundred years ago. They were in number seven men and seven women, who were saved from a watery grave, on the occasion of a shipwreck, which took place near Chaul, about thirty miles to the south-east of Bombay. The place where they found refuge is named Navagaum. They and their descendants met with considerable favor from the native princes, though they were sometimes forced to conceal their principles. As they increased, they spread themselves among the villages of the Konkan, particularly those near the coast, and lying between the Bankot River and the road which traverses the country between Panwell and the Borghat. In this locality, and also in Bombay, in which they began to settle after it came into the possession of the English, their descendants are still to be found. The population on this island amounts to about one thousand nine hundred and thirty-two souls; in the English territories in the Konkan, to about eight hundred; in the districts belonging to Angria, to eight hundred and seventy; in certain villages below the ghat of the Pant Sachiva, to two hundred and nine; in the districts of the Habshi, to four hundred and forty-four; and in the Bombay army, including men, women and children, to about one thousand. These numbers, which amount altogether to five thousand two hundred and fifty-five, I take principally from a census made under my own direction. They fall short of the general native estimate by nearly three thousand. It is possible that some houses may have been overlooked by the persons sent forth by me to collect the information.

"The Beni-Israel resemble in countenance the Arabian Jews, though they view the name *Jehudi*, when applied to them, as one of reproach. They are fairer than the other natives of the same rank of life with themselves; but they are not much to be distinguished from them with regard to dress.

They have no *shendi*, like the Hindoos, on the crown of their heads; but they preserve a tuft of hair above each of their ears. Their turbans, angrakhas, and shoes, are like those of the Hindoos, and their trowsers are like those of the Mussulmans. Their ornaments are the same as those worn by the middle class of natives in the Marathi country.

"The houses of the Beni-Israel do not differ from those of other natives of the same rank.

"The Beni-Israel do not eat with persons belonging to other communities; but they do not object to drink from vessels belonging to Christians, Mussulmans, or Hindoos. They ask a blessing from God, both before and after meals, in the Hebrew language.

"Each of the Beni-Israel, generally speaking, has two names; one derived from a character mentioned in Scripture, and another which has originated in deference to Hindoo usage.

"The Hebrew names current among the men are the following: — Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, (which is said most to abound,) Joseph, Naphtali, Zebulon, Benjamin, Samson, Moshe, Aaron, Eliezer, Phinehas, David, Solomon, Elijah, Hezekiel, Daniel, Sadik, Haim, Shalom, and Nashim. The name Judah, it is to be remarked, is not to be found among them. The Hindoo names, by which they are most commonly known among the natives, are Saku, Jitu, Rama, Bapu, Sawandoba, Tana, Dhonda, Abau, Bandu, Nathu, Dada, Dhamba, Bala, Baba, Vitu or Yethu, Phakira, Yeshu, Satku, Apa, Bhau, Bapshah, Gauria, Pita, Bawa, Anandia, Kama, Jangu, Aba. Among these, it will be observed, there are only a few which correspond with those of the heathen gods.

"Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Leah, Saphira, Milcah, Zilchah, Miriam, and Hannah, are the Hebrew names given to the women. Esther, the favorite Jewish name, does not occur among them. The names derived from the Hindoos, which are found among them, are Balku, Abia, Ama, Yeshi, Zaitu, Tanu, Hasu, Ladi, Baina, Aka, Ranu, Rayewa, Baia, Nanu, Raju, Thaku, Kalabia, Maka, Saku, Gowaru, Dudi, Sai, Sama, and Bhiku, Pithu, Wobu, Dhakalu.

"The Hebrew names are first conferred on the occasion of circumcision; and those of a Hindoo origin are first given, agreeably to the convention of each family, about a month after the birth of the individual on whom they are bestowed. The surnames of the Beni-Israel are generally derived from the villages in which they originally settled.

"The vernacular language of the Beni-Israel is the Marathi. A few of them, however, are able to converse in Gujarathi and Hindoostani.

"The Beni-Israel resident in the Konkan principally occupy themselves in agriculture, or in manufacturing oil.* Those who live in Bombay, with the exception of a few shopkeepers, are artisans, particularly masons and carpenters. A few are blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and tailors. Shoemakers, barbers, and professional washermen are unknown amongst them. Some of them, generally bearing an excellent character as soldiers, are to be found in most of the regiments of native infantry in the Bombay Presidency; and few of them retire from the service without attaining to rank as native officers. There are not many of them who possess much property. David "Capitan," their Mukadam, or head-man, in Bombay, is believed to possess one or two lacs of rupees. A considerable number of families are supposed to be worth from one thousand to five thousand rupees. Like the Parsees, they do not tolerate professional begging beyond their own community. The poor are relieved by private charity, or from the funds of the masjid, or synagogue, which are derived from fines and offerings.

"In the Company's territories, the Beni-Israel enjoy all the toleration which they can desire. In the district of country belonging to the petty Hindoo prince Angria, in which many of them are to be found, they take the same rank as Mussulmans. In that belonging to the Habshi, or Mussulman Chief of Jiziri, they are viewed as on a point of equality with the agricultural Marathas.

* Hence the Beni-Israel in general are not unfrequently denominated *Teli*, or oil-men.

"All questions respecting the caste and religious discipline of the Beni-Israel are determined, in a meeting of the adult members of the community in each village, by their Mukadam, or headman, who has a kind of magisterial authority in the community; and the Kazi, who is the president in religious matters, and the conductor of public worship,* and whose duty it is to entertain the complaints which are made to them. The Mukadam and Kazi have generally the assistance of four *chogale*, or elders, in the superintendence which they exercise, and the judgments which they pronounce. Any of the people present at an investigation, however, may express their sentiments on the subjects under discussion, record their dissent, and, in certain circumstances, procure a new trial. In the administration of justice, they admonish witnesses to speak the truth, by their regard to the Torah, or Law; but they seldom exact from them a formal oath.

"The Beni-Israel all profess to adore Jehovah, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. Many of them till lately, however, publicly worshipped, and some of them at the present time secretly worship, the gods of the Hindoos, and particularly those who are supposed to be possessed of a malevolent character; and a few of them practise divination, according to the rites of the Hindoos. Though they have remained quite distinct from the people among whom they have been so long scattered, we see the applicability to them of the words of Moses, in Deuteronomy xxviii. 64, "Thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood, and stone."

"The Beni-Israel have in their synagogues no *Sepher-Torah*, or MS. of the law, like the Jews. They admit, however, the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament.

"It is only lately that they have become familiar with the majority of the names of the inspired writers; and it was

* Kazis are to be found only in the villages in which a considerable number of the Beni-Israel reside together.

not without hesitation that they consented to acknowledge the latter prophets. From the Arabian Jews they have received the Hebrew Liturgy of the Sephardim, which they partially use in their religious services. A few copies of the Cochin ritual, printed in Amsterdam about the end of the seventeenth century, are to be found in their hands. One of their number has a copy of one of the Targums, I believe that of Onkelos, but I do not know that it is turned to any account.

"The five books of Moses form the standard of the religious law of the Beni-Israel. Their statutes, however, are but partially regarded. Parchments, bearing small passages of Scripture, are sometimes worn on different parts of their bodies. It is understood that of late they have almost universally abandoned the use of charms, to which the example of the heathen had made them in some degree partial.

"When a birth takes place in any village in which the Beni-Israel are not very numerous, they almost all visit the house, and are entertained with sweetmeats or fruits. Circumcision is performed by the kazi, on the day appointed by the law of Moses. In connexion with it he pronounces the words, "Blessed be thou, O Jehovah, our God, the universal King, who sanctifies us by his commandments, and ordains us concerning circumcision." He also invokes the Prophet Elijah, and the expected Messiah, using some superstitious ceremonies. The rite is considered as marking the descent of the Beni-Israel from Abraham; but no spiritual meaning is attached to it, except by individuals who may have had intercourse with Christian missionaries. The ceremony is attended by a considerable number of people, who are hospitably entertained, and who invoke the health of the child over the simple juice of the grape. The kazi generally receives from eight annas to two rupees for his services. Small presents are sometimes given to the infants.

"The marriages of the Beni-Israel generally take place as early in life as among the Hindoos. The arrangements connected with the betrothment are those of the parents. The ceremonies of marriage continue for five, instead of

seven days, as among the ancient Jews; and they are in some respects of a heathenish character. On the first day, the bridegroom is restrained from going abroad, is bathed, and gets his hands stained red with the leaves of the *Mendi*, (Lawsonia inermis,) and the front of his turban ornamented with yellow or white paper, cut in the form of the flowers of the *champa*, (Michelia champaca,) while he is visited by his relatives, who begin to feast and rejoice. On the second day, his neighbors, without distinction, are invited to participate in the hospitality of his father's house; while he is required to have his hair dressed, and to array himself in his best apparel and ornaments. He is then mounted on a horse, and conveyed, with the usual clang and clatter of the natives to the place of worship, where a part of the marriage prayers of the Liturgy is read, and a blessing is pronounced by the kazi. From the masjid, he is conveyed in the same way as when moving towards it, to the house of the bride, where he is received by her father, and seated among the assembled multitude. A dress and ornaments for the bride, as expensive as the circumstances of his family will permit, are presented in his name, and by the hands of his father, to the bride, who immediately turns them to use. A couch covered with clean cloth is then produced, and on it the happy pair are seated together. All the visitors stand before them. The kazi takes a cup, containing the juice of the grape, which is viewed as a token of the covenant about to be entered into; invokes the blessing of God upon it; puts it into the hands, first of the bridegroom, and afterwards of the bride, who both drink a little of it as soon as they have been questioned as to their willingness to enter into the married relation, and faithfully to discharge their respective duties. The marriage covenant, drawn out in the form usually observed by the Jews, is then produced and read; and after being signed by the individual in whose hand-writing it is, and three other witnesses, it is placed by the bridegroom in the hands of the bride. She holds one end of it, while he holds the other, and declares it to be a legal deed. He then folds it, and gives it into her possession. She disposes of it by commit-

ting it to her father's care. The cup is again tasted; certain passages of the Psalms are read; a ring is placed by the bridegroom on the fore-finger of the right hand of the bride; and the religious part of the ceremonies is declared to be closed. The kazi blesses the espoused, seated together; and they receive offerings, principally in small sums of money, from their acquaintances. Feasting and rejoicing conclude the labors of the day. Next evening, the bridegroom and bride leave the father's house,—the former seated on a horse, and the latter in a palanquin,—and proceed, amidst the firing of squibs and rockets, to the masjid, where they receive a fresh benediction from the kazi, before going to the house of the bridegroom, where they dine along with their assembled friends. Amusement and feasting continue during the two subsequent days.

"The marriage covenant is in general rigidly respected, even though adultery is but slightly punished, as by a fine of one or two rupees. The innocent member of a family, in aggravated cases, is allowed a divorce, and the liberty of re-marriage. The offending party, in the lax discipline of the community, is seldom prevented from having similar privileges, when he has the means of purchasing them! Polygamy is practised in a considerable number of families; but there are no instances known of a man having more than *three* wives. A few individuals keep female slaves as concubines. Barrenness, as of old, is reckoned a great misfortune, and children are adopted by written covenant on a failure of issue. Females are by no means so degraded among the Beni-Israel as among the Rabbinical Jews; but they are not allowed to go to the masjids for the purpose of worship. The kind treatment which they receive favorably contrasts with that of the Hindoo females around them.

"The interments of the Beni-Israel quickly follow the death. They bury without coffins in graves of three or four feet in depth. The head of the corpse is placed towards the east. They sometimes make offerings to the souls of the deceased, of rice, milk, and cocoa-nuts, and sprinkle water mixed with flour at the time of the interment; and

they visit the grave on the third, fifth and seventh days after it is closed, for the purpose of prayer. They have also an annual ceremony in behalf of the dead, like that of the Hindoo *Shraddh*. Their formal mourning for the dead lasts seven days. Some few of them think that there is a purgatory for the reception of souls after death.

"The Beni-Israel reckon their day from sunset to sunset. They now denominate their months by the Hebrew name.

"The weekly Sabbath is, in some degree, observed by about a third of the population. At six o'clock in the morning they assemble for worship in the masjid, where they remain for two or three hours, principally engaged in reciting prayers, or parts of the Scripture after the *Hazzan*, or reader, and practising genuflections. A few of the more devout of their number may be seen in the masjid about mid-day, or about two or three o'clock in the afternoon. The evening service, which commences about six o'clock, is that perhaps which is best attended. It lasts for about two hours, and is frequently concluded by the persons present merely touching with their lips the cup of blessing. By the greater part of the population the Sabbath is altogether profaned. A bad example in Bombay is shown by some of the principal men, who are said to spend the day in the audit of their accounts.

"The day of the new moon is denominated by the Beni-Israel, as by the Jews, *Rosh Hodesh*, or the first of the month; but it is very little observed by them unless it may happen to fall on the day of the weekly Sabbath. In a few houses, and also in some masjids, the prayers and lessons appointed for the day are read, as they are given in the Liturgy of the Sephardim, which they denominate Sidur. On the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth or tenth of the month, when the moon is seen to increase, the readers of the synagogue, and a few other individuals, read the *Berchat-ha-Lebana*, the blessing of the moon,—springing on their toes with their faces toward that luminary. This custom, like most of the others connected with their worship, is

allowed by the Beni-Israel to have been derived from the Arabian Jews.

"The annual religious festivals and feasts of the Beni-Israel, I shall mention under the head, and according to the order of the months, beginning with the commencement of the ecclesiastical year, which takes place about the vernal equinox.

"1. *Abib, or Nisan.*—The great Jewish festival of the *Pesach*, or Passover, commences on the fourteenth of this month. It is a curious fact, that the Beni-Israel allow that their fathers in India, even till a late period, were entirely ignorant of the objects for which it was originally instituted, and the manner in which it should be observed, and that the only regard which they paid to it, was on the eighth day of its commencement, when they indulge themselves in eating or drinking. At present, particularly in Bombay, about one-third of their number imitate, on a small scale, the mode of observance of the Arabian Jews, paying special regard to the two first and two last days. During eight days, these persons use only unleavened bread, which, on the first and second, they mix with herbs. On the first day, they place on their tables the right foot of a goat roasted, to remind them of the paschal lamb. They do not regard the ancient ordinance in reference to having their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staves in their hands. They use four cups, with the juice of the grape, pretty frequently in the midst of their prayers and readings. One individual in a family holds a basin in his hand, into which the contents of a cup are poured in ten portions, corresponding with the ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians, which are respectively mentioned as the ceremony proceeds. The twenty-third of this month the Beni-Israel denominate *Isru-Hag*, "bind the festival-sacrifice," as in Psalm cxviii. 27, but for what reason they do not know. It is spent nearly universally by them as a day of rejoicing.

"2. *Jyar, or Zif.*—In this month falls the second Passover of the Jews, (Numbers ix. 10, 11,) observed by those who cannot attend to the first Passover. It is never regarded by the Beni-Israel.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE PASSOVER, ACCORDING TO MODERN USAGE.

"3. *Sivan.*—The feast of *Shabuoth*, (weeks, or Pentecost,) commences among the Beni-Israel on the sixth of this month. They partially observe it for two days as a season of rejoicing, remaining awake at the masjid during the intervening night, and spending the time principally in reading and praying. They have no ceremonies connected with the produce of their fields, though a very few of them use the ordinary prayers of the Jews which refer to them. They have no acquaintance with the Rabbinical legends associated with the festival among the Jews,—such as those of the uplifting of Mount Sinai over the head of the Israelites, the crowning of the members of the congregation by six hundred thousand angels, and the retreat and advance of the people for twelve miles on the giving of each commandment.

"4. *Thammuz.*—The Jews observe the seventeenth of this month, *Shiba-asar-Thammuz*, as a day of fasting, in remembrance of the breaking of the tablets of the law, and the ceasing of the regular sacrifice; and the Beni-Israel have begun to be their imitators.

"5. *A'b.*—On the ninth of this month, *Tisha-be-A'b*, the Jews fast, because it is said that the temple was in it first burnt by the Chaldees, and afterwards by the Romans; and because, on it, God declared, in the time of Moses, that none of those who came out of Egypt should enter into the promised land. Some of the Jews of London, who lately opened a correspondence with the Beni-Israel, have exhorted them strictly to observe it, to which, for many years, they had not been disinclined, having been admonished to the same effect by the Cochin Jews.

"6. *Elul.*—The Beni-Israel observe some customs during this month, and the nine days of the following one preceding the day of atonement, which, as far as I am aware, are peculiar to themselves. Except on the *Rosh Hodesh*, and the weekly Sabbath, they professedly fast with great strictness during the time that the sun is above the horizon. Numbers of them attend the masjid for prayer long before sunrise.

"7. *Tisri.*—The civil year of the Jews commences on the first of this month, called *Rosh-ha-Shana.* The Beni-Israel universally devote to feasting and rejoicing the whole day, with the exception of a few hours, during which some of them attend the masjid, for the purpose of offering up their prayers, and blowing horns and trumpets. Their salutation, when they first meet, is, *Tisku le Shanim raboth*—May you survive many years! and the reply is commonly, *Sikateb be sepher haim tobhim*—Let thy name be written in the Book of Life! Like the Jews, they use honey and sweetmeats at their evening meal. The second day of the year they spend in the same manner as the first. About three o'clock in the afternoon some of them repair to the shore, and worship towards the ocean. On the third of Tisri, the fast of Gadaliah, the son of Ahikam, whose murder is mentioned in the last chapter of 2 kings, is generally observed by the Beni-Israel, as well as by the Jews. The fast of the Day of Atonement, or *Kippur*, which takes place on the tenth day, is very strictly regarded by the Beni-Israel. A few families, in deference to some rabbinical legend, which they have heard from the Arabian or Cochin Jews, sacrifice a cock, to which they give the name of the *kapparah*, or expiation, on the preceding evening. They spend much time, both during the night and day, in confessing their sins, and supplicating the Divine mercy, agreeably to the forms of their Liturgy. In the course of the night they offer up prayers to God for the Sovereign of Britain, the Governor of Bombay, and all the authorities of the country. The day following the Kippur is distinguished for the exercise of hospitality and charity. On the fifteenth day of this month, the feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, is celebrated by the Beni-Israel for nine days, being two in excess of the time prescribed in the Old Testament. A booth, covered with branches of the palm, and ornamented with flowers and fruit, is erected in every village near the masjid, in which the people assemble for the purpose of singing some of the Psalms, and receiving the cup of blessing; but their prayers are recited in the usual place. The eighth

night, those who attend the Tabernacle devote to watching. The two first and two last days of the festival are those which are most regarded, and during them little secular work is performed.

"8. *Bul, or Marchesvan.*—In this month the Beni-Israel observe neither fast nor festival.

"9. *Chisleu.*—On the 25th day, commences the festival of *Hanucha*, or Purification of the Temple, which lasts for eight days. Few, or none, of the Beni-Israel illuminate their houses like the Jews. They keep lights burning, however, at the masjid, whither, morning and evenings, they partially repair for worship. A very few of them have some knowledge of the godly zeal of Judas Maccabæus, which the Jews celebrate at this season.

"10. *Thebeth.*—On the tenth day, a few of the Beni-Israel fast, in commemoration of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon.

"11. *Shabath.*—This month is not distinguished by any holiday.

"12. *Adar.*—On the fourteenth day, the Beni-Israel fast, preparatory to the feast of *Purim*, or Lots, which takes place on the following day, and which they partially observe, in imitation of the Arabian and Cochin Jews, as a festival commemorative of the great deliverance wrought through the instrumentality of Esther. They conduct themselves, on this occasion, with more propriety than the Jews in most parts of the world, and few of them are to be seen in a state of intoxication. They do not, like the Jews, repeat the feast of Lots, when the intercalary month *Ve-Adar* happens to occur.

"The Beni-Israel practise occasional voluntary fasts, particularly when they are inclined to make vows.

"The Beni-Israel observe no jubel, or jubilee.

"The brief survey which we have now made of the observances of the Beni-Israel, might appear to warrant the conclusion that they are Jews, unconnected with the descendants of the Reubenites and Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, who were carried captive to Halah, and

Habor, and Hara, and Nahar-Gozan (1 Chron. v. 26,) by Pul, King of Assyria, and Tiglath-pilnezer, King of Assyria, and unconnected also with the descendants of the ten tribes, who were carried captive to the same and neighboring places, by Shalmanezer, after the fall of Samaria, in the reign of Hosea (2 Kings xvi. 6;) for they commemorate events with which it is difficult to see how these exiles could be connected, and some of which occurred posterior to the return of the Jews to their own land from Babylon, to which they were removed by Nebuchadnezzar. It is only at first sight, however, that such an inference seems to be authorized. The Beni-Israel most readily admit, that to this adoption of their present practices they have been led by the example and precepts of the Arabian and Cochin Jews, who, from time to time, have come to visit them, or to reside in their neighborhood. The very fact, that they are required to be instructed by foreigners in the most solemn and interesting ordinances of their religion, as well as in other customs universally observed by the Jews throughout the world, is a presumption that they have been established for many ages in this country, and really belong to the long exiled and "lost" tribes of Israel. The Jews of Cochin, who say that they came to India immediately after the destruction of the second temple, or, according to their own historical notices, in the sixty-eighth year of the Christian era, have all along considered themselves distinct from the Beni-Israel of Bombay, of whose circumstances they have from time immemorial been well aware; and the black Jews of Cochin, descendants of proselytes from among the Hindoos and the Jewish families which mixed with them, informed the late Dr. Claudius Buchanan, when he was making inquiries about the ten tribes, that it was "commonly believed among them that the great body of the Israelites is to be found in Chaldea;" but "that some few families had migrated into regions more remote, as to Cochin, and Rajapur in India." The last-mentioned place is the district of country bordering on the Nagotna Creek, in which many of the Beni-Israel are even at present settled. The want of a MS. Sepher-

Torah, or Book of the Law, among the Beni-Israel, places them in a situation in which we do not see any congregation of Jews throughout the world. The repudiation, to this day nearly universal among them, of the designation Jew, of which, no doubt, they would have been proud had they merited it; and the distinctive appellation of "Beni-Israel," which they take for themselves, the non-occurrence among them of the favorite Jewish names, Judah and Esther,—and the predominance of the name Reuben, and other names principally connected with the early history of God's highly favored people, appear to me to be circumstances strongly corroborative of the opinion that they are indeed Israelites —a remnant of the posterity of the tribes which were removed from their homes by the Assyrian kings."

Another very interesting Israelitish colony in India, is that of the Jews of Cochin, who are divided into two classes, the White and the Black. The former are the descendants of emigrants, who, as they assert, came into the country after the destruction of the Second Temple; though some have supposed that they originally removed from Persia some centuries later, on the occasion of a persecution in that country. The latter are the offspring of certain natives of Malabar. The following account is from the "Scottish Missionary Record," and is taken from a document prepared by the Jews themselves :—

After the destruction of the second temple, in the three thousand eight hundred and twenty-eighth year of the creation, three thousand one hundred and sixty-eighth of tribulation, and sixty-eighth of the Christian era, about ten thousand Jews and Jewesses came to Malabar, and settled themselves at Cananganore, Paloor Mahdam, and Poolootto; and three fourths of this population remained at Cananganore, then called Mahodranapatna, and subsequently Chingly, under the Government of Churum Perumal.

In the year four thousand one hundred and thirty-ninth of the creation, three thousand four hundred and seventy-ninth of tribulation, and three hundred seventy-ninth of Christ, Cheruman Perumal, Eravy Virma, Emperor of Malabar,

granted to the Jews the honor and privileges they were to exercise, and which grant was engraved on copper-plate, call Chempeada, in Maylayalim, and thereby appointed Joseph Rabbaan the head of the Jews.

We now give an approved translation of the grant above referred to, made to the Cochin Jews :—

Swastri Sri ! the King of kings hath ordained it ! when Raja Sri Bhaskarah Irava Varma was wielding the sceptre of royalty in a hundred thousand places, in the thirty-sixth year, above the second cycle, he vouchsafed during the time that he sojourned in Mavil Cottah to perform a deed, the subject of which is as follows :—From Yusuf Rabba and his people, in five degrees of persons, we exact the tribute of due and deference to our high dignity, and of the usual present to our Royal person. To these we allow the privileges of bearing five kinds of names, (colors ;) of using day lamps ; of wearing long apparel, of using palanquins, and umbrellas, copper vessels ; trumpet and drums ; of garlands for the person ; and garlands to be suspended over their roads ; and we have relinquished all taxes, and rates for these ; and also for all other houses, and churches in other cities : and independent of this bond to him, we have made and given a copper instrument for these latter, separate and distinct. These are to be enjoyed after these five modes of descent, viz., by Yusuf Rabbi himself, and his heirs in succession,—thus his male children, and his female children, his nephews, and the nephews of his daughters, in natural succcession, an hereditary right, to be enjoyed as long as the earth and moon remain, Sri ! Then follows the witnessing, &c., of the grant.

The following is the subsequent history of the Jews in Malabar :—

Until the arrival of the Portuguese (in 1498) they lived on the sea-shore ; but when the Portuguese had taken Cranganore, and they experienced great oppression and persecutions, they left Cranganore, in the five thousand three hundred and twenty-sixth year of the creation, and one thousand five hundred and sixty-fifth of the Christian era, and settled

at Cochin, where the Raja granted them places to build their synagogue and houses next to the Raja's palace, in order to protect and advance them best. The grant of the ground allotted was given in the names of Samuel Casteel, David Baleha, Ephraim Salah, and Joseph Levi; and their buildings were completed in the five thousand three hundred and twenty-eighth year of the creation, or the one thousand five hundred and sixty-seventh of the Christian era; but still they continued to suffer oppression from the Portuguese, as they were not allowed quietly to enjoy their customs and the privileges granted them, nor were they suffered to follow their trade and go about unmolested. The hardened Portuguese took whatever was found in their hands; robbed, beat, and drove them away, wherever they were seen; and neither redress, truth, nor justice could be found. And thus the Jews underwent the greatest hardships and sorrows until the arrival of the Dutch at Cochin, in 1662, when the Jews afforded them every assistance they wanted, and obtained a livelihood; but as at that time a disagreement occurred between the Dutch and the Cochin Raja, and they killed the Raja, the Dutch on that account left Cochin, and went over to Ceylon. Since their departure, the Portuguese, driven by their spleen, and connected with the native Malabrians, set fire to the Jews' synagogue and houses, robbed and killed them on account of their having given the Dutch some provisions; and as at that time the Jews had a book called Sepher Jahshar, containing a detailed account of all the Jews' proceedings ever since they came into Malabar to that period,—which book was kept in the synagogue with the rest of their rituals,—it was totally burned, so that they were driven away in despair, and on the point of sacrificing their lives, when fortunately the Dutch again returned to Cochin, and in a very few days the town of Cochin was taken possession of by Commodore Peter de Petre and Admiral Van Goes, on the eighth of January, 1663, and the eight hundred and thirty-ninth of the Malabar era.

On hearing of the surrender of Cochin, the Jews, overjoyed at the happy event, returned from the different places

they had taken refuge in, and rested again at their own places; repaired the losses sustained; and were, under the guidance of their head and leader Samtob Casteel, praising the Almighty for the deliverance they had received, and praying him, that under the auspices of the Dutch they may obtain further blessings. Ever since, the Jews obtained every favor and protection from the Dutch, and the native Raja; and in trading with them, as likewise serving them, the Jews obtained a livelihood and every comfort, at Cochin, in Malabar.

In the Christian year 1686, when Gilmer Vosberg governed Cochin, four merchants arrived from Amsterdam, namely, Moses Fereira de Paiwa, Isaac Irgas, Isaac Mookat, and Abraham Bort, of the Sepharadim;* and having visited the Jews of Cochin, they were glad, and consented to live with them. They wrote to Amsterdam whatever they had seen and heard of the Jews in Malabar, and desired to get all the books that were required; and when the congregation of Amsterdam (on whom may rest the blessing of God) received those glad tidings, they immediately sent the books of Moses and of the Prophets, prayer-books,† and of the laws and other books, then wanted, which proved a great rejoicing to the Cochin Jews' congregation; and from that time they entered into close intimacy with those of Amsterdam, and annually corresponded with them, and received from them all such books as they required from time to time, and sent copies to be printed in Amsterdam; in return for which the Cochin Jews remitted all that was desired from them. Thus, the Cochin Jews' customs are of the Sepharadim.

Cochin was considered the metropolis of Malabar in India. Those called the white Jews are a people coming from the ruins of the Holy Land, and they have one synagogue, and no more.

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* Sepharadim signifies those of the Spanish custom.

† A Liturgy was printed expressly for the Cochin Jews, a copy of which has been seen by the editor of the "Oriental Spectator."

Those called the black Jews are of the natives of Malabar, that were in Cranganore and its vicinity, and who of their own spontaneous will, joined from the beginning with the white Jews; and of slaves emancipated by the white Jews. These, in connexion with each other, formed that people; but the white Jews were never connected with them by intermarriages; nor have they any of the Cohen or Levy family among them; nor have they any of the Levitical ceremonies in their synagogues, or any relationship in other countries, so that they are a separate nation of themselves in Malabar. Still they have the Mosaical Laws (Torah;) and their customs and usages are like those of the white Jews, with a few exceptions and differences in their prayers and songs, and greatly differing with the manners and proceedings of the common people of the country of Malabar.

The Jews (white and black,) after having abandoned their two synagogues, and habitations at Moottum and Tirtoor, during the invasion of Tippo Sultan, are now fixed at Cochin, Anjecaimal, Paroor, Chanotto, and Mala; and the total number of white, black, and emancipated Jews in Malabar, is one thousand thirty-nine.

On the subject of the small number of Jews, in Malabar, the editor of the "Oriental Spectator" remarks :—

This total is considerably smaller than we expected to find it. In reference to this point, Mr. Baber says, "Their numbers, at a very early period, were very considerable, but owing to intestine feuds, and even wars between the white and black Jews, because the former would not allow the latter, who were converted slaves, the same privileges as themselves; and extensive emigrations since the downfall of the Dutch at Cochin, who invariably treated them well, they have been reduced to the number they themselves state."

When Dr. Claudius Buchanan visited this singular people in 1806, he made investigations into the character of the Hebrew manuscripts which they possessed. He discovered among other remarkable writings, a curious version of the New Testament, of which we shall give the account in his own words :—"I had heard that there were one or

two translations of the New Testament in their possession, but they were studiously kept out of my sight for a considerable time. At last, however, they were produced by individuals in a private manner. One of them is written in the small rabbinical or Jerusalem character; the other in a large square letter. The history of the former is very interesting. The translator, a learned rabbi, conceived the design of making an accurate version of the New Testament, for the express purpose of confuting it. His style is copious and elegant, like that of a master in the language, and the translation is in general faithful. It does not indeed appear that he wished to pervert the meaning of a single sentence; but, depending on his own abilities and renown as a scholar, he hoped to be able to controvert its doctrines, and to triumph over it by fair contest in the presence of the world. The translation is complete, and written with greater freedom and ease towards the end than at the beginning. How astonishing it is that an enemy should have done this! That he should have persevered resolutely to the end of his work; not always indeed *calmly*, for there is sometimes a note of execration on the Sacred Person who is the subject of it, as if to unburden his mind, and ease the conflict of his laboring soul. At the close of the Gospels, as if afraid of the converting power of his own version, he calls Heaven to witness that 'he had undertaken the work with the professed design of opposing the *Epicureans*,' by which term he contemptuously designates the Christians." Dr. Buchanan states that in almost every house he found Hebrew books, printed, or in manuscript, particularly among the white Jews.*

There are, according to Dr. Wolff, about fifty Jewish families at Bombay, chiefly from Bussorah, Bagdad, Muscat, and other parts of Mesopotamia, and partly from Yemen. The late Mrs. Wilson, of the Scottish Mission, describes some whom she visited as "living in a style of oriental magnificence, which we rarely see even among the rich natives of India."

* Christian Researches.

In Egypt, the only places where Jews reside are the two principal cities, Alexandria and Cairo. In the former city there are about a thousand, of whom one third are Europeans, who have gone thither for the purpose of trade. There are not many rich men among them; the wealthiest are the *sarafs* or money-changers. At Cairo there are about five thousand, who have ten synagogues, and five schools in which the children are taught Arabic and Hebrew. The attendance at each school averages from thirty to forty; but, from the extreme poverty of the parents, the pupils are indifferently provided with books, a circumstance which greatly obstructs their progress. The Jewish quarter is very miserable and unhealthy; many of the streets are so narrow that two persons cannot walk abreast in them; and the atmosphere is filled with noisome odors of the worst description.

In the states of Barbary there are many Jews. In the government of Tunis alone, according to Mr. Ewald, the missionary, there are upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand; of these, forty thousand reside in the capital. The Bey has placed over them a governor, who is styled Kaid, with power to imprison and inflict other punishments. The spiritual concerns of the community are managed by a council of five rabbis, of whom the chief is denominated Ab Beth Din, *i. e.* the Father of the House of Judgment. They are a laborious class of people, and, in general, very poor; but in most cases they can both speak and write the Hebrew language.

The Jews of Morocco constitute more than the twenty-fifth part of the whole population. Their total number is stated to be three hundred and forty thousand, viz. :—In Fez, nine thousand; in Rabat, seven thousand; in Morocco, five thousand; in Mequinez, five thousand; in Tetuan, four thousand two hundred; in Mogador, four thousand; in Tangier, three thousand, &c. In the seaports they are the merchants, artisans, brokers, tradesmen, and interpreters. They are almost always employed in transacting political as well as commercial affairs with Europeans. Notwithstand-

ing this, however, the Moors despise and detest them; and there is no ignominy, no extortion, which they are not subjected to. They are prohibited reading or writing Arabic, under the pretence of their not being worthy to understand the Koran: they are not allowed to mount a horse, because it is too noble an animal for them: they must take off their shoes on passing mosques, holy places, and the dwelling of the great: they are not allowed to come near a well while a Mahometan is drinking out of it; nor to sit down in the presence of a Mahometan: they are compelled to be dressed in black (this color being considered mean,) and to fill the offices of executioner and gravedigger. The children are at liberty to insult them, and the lowest of the people may strike them; but if a Jew lifts his hand to a Mohometan he is punished with death. In many places they must even pay enormous taxes for being permitted to wear shoes and use asses and mules.

The following are extracts from a work entitled "An Appeal in behalf of the Jewish Nation:"

"But while the British statesman freely offers the pledge of his nation's honor, and contributes her wealth to the utter eradication of slavery; while England waves her protecting banner over the helpless and the oppressed, both at home and abroad; there yet remains one nation—one remarkable race of people, the Jews, towards whom the exercise of philanthropy would seem a crime; whom no eye pities, and whose wretched condition is a stain upon the present age of the world, worthy only of the darkness, blindness, and inhumanity of the Middle Ages.

"I am aware that much of the ill feeling of former times against this hapless nation has been greatly effaced from English hearts, but much prejudice still exists even in enlightened England. In other countries of Europe this feeling amounts to positive hatred; but be it remembered, the Christian world despises this people for vices which have been fostered by itself; and it hates them for crimes which are the effects of its own heartless policy. Let not some arch-priest or Levite of selfishness passing by on the other

side tell me that the curse of the Most High is on the Jewish race, and that to help them would be to contravene the purposes of God's providence.

"I was connected with Mogadore and other parts of the dominions of Morocco for upwards of five years, and had thus an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the state of the very large section of the Jewish people who are spread through its various towns. They are a very fine race, and are partly the descendants of those Jews who were banished by the Christian rulers of Europe from their several dominions, and forced to take refuge in the adjacent Mohammedan countries, where they enjoyed at least a precarious protection, preferable to the state of outlawry, in which they only possessed their lives in fear and trembling in Christian Europe."

"One of the most diabolical means of oppression which is brought to bear on this condemned race, but of which fortunately the instances are comparatively few, arises primarily from the contempt with which they are regarded; their evidence being esteemed utterly worthless, before the tribunal of the caadi against a Moslem, while the evidence of two Moslem witnesses, (though often false,) is sufficient to convict a Jew, and subject him to the penalty of the grossest crimes. It will easily be perceived how this unlimited power can be applied to the purposes of avarice, sensuality, and religious bigotry, when taken in connexion with the fact, that nothing more is required to make a Jew or Christian a Mohammedan by their law, than the deposition of two witnesses to the simple circumstance of their having pronounced the words, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God." Against this testimony the protestations of the Jews are vain, and the penalty of recantation is burning at the stake. Although the instances, as I before mentioned, are few, this is too great a power not to be much too frequently used for the worst purposes; sometimes the threat is sufficient to gain the proposed end, but if that fails, false witnesses are employed, when the victim, who is generally wealthy, purchases immunity at a ruinous

price, and the circumstance is hushed up ; or if poor, which is seldom, he is obliged to conform to his new faith, hated by his own people, and despised and always suspected by his adopted brethren.

"Some cases are, however, attended by circumstances of a graver nature, and have a more tragical ending ; one of them I will narrate, which took place while I was in that country, and with which I was therefore well acquainted. The individual sufferer was an interesting young Jewess of respectable family, residing at Tangier, and much is it to be regretted that our consul-general had not influence, or if he did possess any that he did not exert it, to avert the horrid catastrophe. This young creature was summoned before the tribunal of the caadi, by two Moors, who deposed to her having pronounced their confession of faith. This, however, she utterly denied, but, as before shown, in vain, and the caadi had no alternative, even had he possessed the inclination, but to decree her conformity to Islamism on pain of death.

"I was never able to obtain correct information as to whether the witnesses were actuated by sinister motives, or whether the poor girl really did repeat the fatal words in jest. There is, doubtless, much friendly intercourse existing between the Jews and the better disposed Moors, in which gossip and jesting are sometimes carried beyond the verge of safety, considering the relative position of the parties. Again, in a scripture language like the Arabic, in which the name of God so constantly occurs, there are many ejaculations repeatedly uttered by the Jews which approach very near to this formula, and might, therefore, be mistaken for it. Be this as it may, the affair is of too serious a nature to be passed over lightly by the Jewish community, who at least deserve the credit of uniting for mutual protection, where their national and religious integrity are concerned, and, consequently, every exertion was made, but unsuccessfully, by influence and money, to crush it in the bud. It had, however, become too public not to reach the ears of Mulai Abderahman, to whose decision it was therefore referred, and the parties repaired to Fez for the purpose.

"Whatever might have influenced her accusers, there could be no doubt of the motive of the Sultan in enforcing the decree, which was, to obtain another plaything for his harem; in fact, so well known was his character in this respect, that from the moment of her being ordered to his presence, no one expected any other result—for few possibly imagined, nor did the Sultan himself, that she would have courage to brave the alternative rather than abandon the faith of her fathers. Such, however, was the case. She was first sent to the Serail, where every means were employed to shake her constancy; threats, blandishments, and the most brilliant promises were tried by turns, and were equally unsuccessful. Even her relations were allowed to see her, to endeavor by their persuasions to divert her from her resolution; but with a firmness which against such assaults could have been the effect only of the deepest conviction, this young and noble creature held fast her integrity, and calmly chose a horrible though honorable death, to the enjoyment of an ignominious existence of shame and infamy.

"The Jews came forward with offers of immense sums of money to save her, but her fate was irrevocably decided, and the only mercy the baffled tyrant could afford his young and innocent victim was, to allow of her being decapitated instead of being burnt alive. I had an account of the closing scene from an eye-witness, who was one of the guards at the execution, and although, as a body, there is nowhere a more dissolute set of soldiery than the Morocco Moors, yet he confessed to me that many of his vice-hardened companions could not restrain their tears, and that he himself could not look with dry eyes on a sight of such cold-blooded atrocity. This beautiful young creature was led out to where a pile ready for firing had been raised for her last couch:—her long dark hair flowing dishevelled over her shoulders, she looked around in vain for a heart and hand that could succor, though so many eyes pitied her: for the last time she was offered—with the executioner and the pyre in all their terror before her—her life, on condition of being false to her God:—she only asked for a few minutes for

prayer, after which her throat was cut by the executioner, according to the barbarous custom of the country, and her body consumed on the fire!!

"Fellow-countrymen! this is no Moorish romance, strained out of a heated imagination, to gratify the morbid taste of the fancy-cloyed novel reader;—there is here no painting or exaggeration to excite false sympathy, but a simple tale of naked, unvarnished, thrilling truth; and I appeal to you whether such things ought to be in the present age—I appeal to you whether such things ought to be allowed in a country where British influence can be brought to bear in the most remote manner; how much more, in a country close to our shores, and where it ought to be paramount! 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear.'"

Mr. Mitford's estimate of the Jewish character, and of the advantages which the country would derive from taking those measures for the benefit of the children of Abraham which he advocates, is thus:—

"I have alluded more particularly, in this imperfect sketch, to the Jews of Morocco, because they are essentially the most ill-used, and because—although I have had opportunities of seeing much of this people in that country, as well as in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, India, and Arabia—I consider them physically and intellectually as the finest type of the race, and their apparent moral degradation is chiefly superficial, the consequence of the state of oppression which has been weighing on them for nearly two thousand years.

"Is it not, indeed, surprising, that after the ordeal they have undergone, they should still retain either moral worth or physical identity; yet notwithstanding this, which would have utterly annihilated any race not equally under the care of Providence, there are still among them men of latent talent and capability for the highest purposes, and which only require directing into the right channels to produce the most brilliant results. They possess in an eminent degree the virtues of fortitude and perseverance, without which,

indeed, they could scarcely have existed individually or held together as a nation. Their aspirations after better things have been quelled, their spirits bowed to the very dust, and their every feeling embittered under the thraldom of Mohammedan despotism, the persecution of the powers of Christendom, and the insults of the world at large. But relieved from these fetters, the intrinsic nobility of their nature would be drawn forth, and springing with their characteristic buoyancy from the sufferings of ages, they would reach and maintain a high rank among the nations of the earth."

From the best information, it would appear that there are about fifty thousand Jews in the United States. From twelve to thirteen thousand of this number are supposed to reside in the city of New York; four thousand in Philadelphia; one thousand in Baltimore; and the rest are distributed through the Union as pedlars, or wandering merchants, passing from place to place, as they may be invited by facilities of trade. A large body of Jews appear to be settled in South Carolina; in Charleston they have a very showy synagogue, and, what is a little remarkable, they have a fine organ, and have made and allowed some important changes in their former belief.

In all our western cities, such as Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, as also in New Orleans, considerable numbers of Israelites are found, and for the most part are engaged in conducting the barter business along our western rivers.

And now, let us briefly allude to the state of public sentiment here in relation to the cause of the Jewish restoration; you may rely upon it, there is an increasing solicitude throughout our Protestant Christian Society, and this seems to be the work of the Holy One. I occasionally hear of clergymen of different denominations, without any concert of action, preaching on this subject to their respective charges. Societies are springing up in various parts of the country, avowedly in favor of the Jews, and much greater interest than I have ever seen, is taken in the study of prophecy.

There is also a Society in New York, chartered many years ago, under the name and title of the *American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews.* Their eighteenth annual report was published in May, 1842. The Rev. Dr. Brownlee has been President of it for several years; Rev. Dr. Alexander Proudfit, and eleven other distinguished men, are Vice Presidents; Dr. Professor Proudfit, Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; A. M. Burrel, Esq., Recording Secretary; and Thomas S. Shepard, Esq., Treasurer; with twenty directors.

There are a good many in Jamaica. In Kingston, where alone their number is stated to be about three thousand, they have two synagogues. In Spanish Town there are from twelve to fifteen hundred, and one synagogue. They are supposed to have been attracted to that island by the circumstance that they could by law hold lands there, which they could not formerly do in other Christian countries. Many of them are rich, and, on that account, have considerable influence in the community.

CHAPTER XIX.

Missions to the Jews—Societies for their Conversion in the Prussian Dominions—Great Success—Converted Jew Professors—Dr. Neander—London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews—Labors of the Society—Schools in Posen—Mission and Church at Jerusalem—Church of Scotland—Deputation to Palestine—Their Report to General Assembly—Prospects—Concluding Remarks.

We have now to give a sketch of the means, which have been lately adopted, to bring the ancient people of God to the faith of the Gospel. We have already stated, that a society was formed in Germany, during the last century, for the express purpose of the conversion of the Jews; and that this institution perished for want of funds

about the time of the French Revolution. Throughout the period which elapsed between its formation and extinction, there was no effort of a similar kind made in any other Christian country. But, within the last fifty years, there has been a wonderful revival of religion in the Protestant churches; and a far more deep and pervading sense of their obligation to promote, by every means in their power, the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. Never has there been such general and wide-spread endeavors to advance the glory of God, by the salvation of the souls of men. That apathy in the cause of missions to the Heathen, which so long disgraced the Protestant churches, and called forth the strong and not unmerited condemnation of the pious and amiable Fenelon, has now been, we trust forever, renounced; and vigorous efforts have been made to diffuse the knowledge of the Christian religion among every Pagan nation of the globe. It was not to be expected that Christians would feel a great anxiety about the spiritual welfare of the Heathen, without, at the same time, beginning to take a deep interest in the condition of the Jews; who, though superior to idolaters in knowledge of the only true God, were equally ignorant with them of Jesus Christ, whom He has sent. "They forget," says the great and good Archbishop Leighton, "a main part of the church's glory, who pray not daily for the conversion of the Jews." Unquestionably,* in all ages of the church, those who truly felt the power of the Gospel in their own

* In every age of the Christian church, there have been Jews who believed in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. But, from a very early period in the history of Christianty, the conversion of a Jew was instantly followed by his entire amalgamation with his Gentile brethren; by which means, his testimony to his Jewish brethren was entirely lost. His great anxiety was, not only to cease to be a Jew, but that he and all others should forget he had ever been one. And thus have matters continued until very recently. The Gentile church disliked that a Jew should consider himself a Jew, should speak of himself as such, after he had confessed Christ; and the Jew himself, disliking the reproach and contempt that yet attaches to the name, was but too happy to chime in with the views of his Gentile friends.

Through a deeper acquaintance with the prophetic revelations of Scripture, a portion of the church of Christ is beginning to awake to juster views of the destiny of Israel, and of God's purposes in keeping them a distinct nation unto this day. But a very large portion of it have yet to learn this; have yet to learn that the term Jew, is a national, as well as an ecclesiastical, distinction.

hearts, and knew that "the only name given under heaven, whereby we must be saved," was one at which the Hebrew scoffed with disdain, would, in their private supplications, often breathe a prayer similar to that which is contained in the quaint but withal beautiful and devotional lines of George Herbert.*

But within the present century, pious men, in various countries of Europe, began to perceive that there was need, not merely of devout and unremitted supplications at the throne of grace, but likewise of vigorous and active efforts to promote a cause so holy and evangelical, as that of the conversion of the Jews.

On the continent of Europe, societies for the conversion of the Jews have been formed at Berlin, at Bremerlehe, at Strasburg, at Basle, at Posen, at Breslau, at Frankfort, on the Maine, at Dantsic, at Konigsberg, at Toulouse, at Dresden, and many other places. These societies have been eminently prosperous; but the London Society, the first in date, is likewise the first in its magnitude and successes. This admirable Association, long buffeted by the gales of adverse fortune, seems now fairly harbored in public opinion; 'the entire contributions,' says their Report of March, 1838, 'received during the past year, have amounted to the sum of 19,054*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, being an increase of 4,523*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* upon the receipts of the preceding year.' Doubtless their future exertions will be commensurate with their means, and Providence will bless with a larger harvest their increased expenditure and toil. But they have been 'faithful over a few things,' and wrought great effects in the infancy of their fortunes. They have circulated in the last year, besides tracts, Pentateuchs, and other works in great number, nearly four thousand copies of the Old Testament in Hebrew; they have twenty-three stations in Europe, and the East; forty-nine missionaries and agents, twenty-four of whom are Jewish converts; and ten schools, two in London,

* See Appendix, p. 494.

and eight in the duchy of Posen. Although the amount of conversions, relatively to the actual numbers of Israel, has not been large, the spies have brought back a good account of the land; the sample of its fruit may rival the grapes of Eshcol, and stimulate the Church of England to rise and take possession. In almost every considerable town of Germany there are to be found some baptized Jews; we learn by official accounts from Silesia, that, between 1820 and 1834, four hundred and fifty-five persons were added to the Church; in East and West Prussia, two hundred and thirty-four in the same time; and from 1830 to 1837, in Berlin alone, no less than three hundred and twenty-six. In Poland, the average amount of baptisms during the last ten years has been about fifteen annually, exclusive of the great number baptized by the Romanists, to whom the proselytes are attracted by the hope and assurance of temporal support in the event of their conversion. At the Hebrew Episcopal chapel in London, seven adult converts, and three children, were baptized last year, making a total thereby of two hundred and forty-six baptisms from the commencement, eighty-five of whom were adults; and among the converts in this country may be reckoned four synagogue-readers, of whom two have lately received orders in the Church of England; and six others who have taken part in its apostolical ministry.* This is no sudden or uncertain progress; it is no reproduction of the same Jew, like the annual proselyte of Rome at the feast of St. Peter, who is kept, as a dog at the Grotto del Cane, to be victimized for the edification of the curious; a new spur has been given to the advance and establishment of the faith among them, and conversions are greatly on the increase; 'there is rarely an instance,' says our experienced informant, 'of a return to Judaism. And

* Very many Jews have been baptized elsewhere, even in London, but we have no means of ascertaining the number. Mr. Joseph, himself a convert, has in the course of a few years baptized twenty individuals at Liverpool; baptisms have also occurred in Plymouth, Exeter, Bristol, Cheltenham, York, Hull, &c.

though some fall into sin, and misbehave themselves, their profession of Christianity is lasting, and, I believe, sincere.

"It is a very important feature in the generality of these conversions, that they have taken place among persons of cultivated understandings and literary attainments. We are not to be told that those excellent societies have operated with success on ignorance and poverty, purchasing the one, and persuading the other, where either necessity or incapacity lay passive before them. These Jewish converts, like their prototype, St. Paul, brought up at the feet of their Gamaliels in all the learning and wisdom of the Hebrews, now 'preach the faith which once they destroyed.' We have already mentioned that several have become ministers of the Church of England; on the Continent we find many among the Lutheran and Reformed clergy; they have also their physicians, lawyers, head and assistant masters of the German Gymnasia; there are three professors and two lecturers, formerly Jews, in the University of Breslau; five professors in Halle; in Petersburgh, a professor of medicine; in Warsaw, Dr. Leo, a convert, is one of the most celebrated physicians; in Erlangen, Dr. Stahl; and in Berlin, Dr. Neander, the great church historian, fully proves that poverty of intellect is not an indispensable preliminary to Jewish conversion."

The following remarks, which appeared in the "London Morning Herald" on the day after the late Anniversary, are deserving of notice:—

"The interesting province of missionary labor occupied by the religious Society that met yesterday in Exeter Hall induces us to make a very few remarks. The London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews is the only Society in this country that embraces this increasingly-important office. This Institution seems to grow in prosperity in proportion to the nearness of the accomplishment of those stupendous destinies which are enfolded in the bosoms and transparent in every chapter of the history of the Jews. It renews its youth like the eagle. The deep and extending interest felt on both sides in the condition and claims of the

ancient people of God, the sympathy with their sufferings that has been recently poured forth from cabinets and councils, the deputations that have visited long-oppressed and debased Palestine, and the immense amount of patient inquiry and popular illustration which have been brought to bear on the elucidation of the apocalyptic references to the depth of their degradation and the grandeur of their restoration, all indicate an impulse from on high—the earliest dawn of that remarkable morn, in the splendor of which all earth's scattered lights are speedily to be lost. We cannot help repeating what has been said and sung a hundred times—every Jew is a miracle. The past and the future are legible on that sharp-featured man. Like the Goddess of Fame depicted by the poet, he wears a robe painted all over with wonderful events and manifold experiences. He is significant of all strange and mysterious facts, and prophetic of all bright and beautiful futurities. He is the compend of ecclesiastical history. Sense sees in a Jew a dirty, mean worshipper of Mammon. Faith sees in him a knot of roots and relationships, whose fruitage and flower is Jerusalem in its millennial repose, and Christianity in its fragrant and fadeless expansion.

> ———— "His substance is not here,
> For what you see is but the smallest part
> And least proportion of humanity;
> But were the whole frame here,
> It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
> Your roof were not sufficient to contain it."

While there is still felt in almost every Christian breast an instinctive line or sense of separation between the Jew and the Gentile, and an indisposition as great on the one side as on the other, to meet and mingle in the social and lasting relations of human life—proofs too palpable to be mistaken that the anathema denounced, or rather foretold on Calvary, still lowers over the long-doomed race—there is at the same time a tender and earnest anxiety, where there was only apathy, toward the civil, municipal, and spiritual improve-

ment of the Jewish population, as new and peculiar to the present age as it is worthy of a people whose Savior was a Jew, according to the flesh—whose Bible is the composition of Jews, and whose faith is set forth in symbols and signs that derived their origin from the rites and customs of the children of Abraham. They enriched us while they impoverished themselves. Their fall was our rise. Nor is it unworthy of notice in the columns of a journal that advocates the altar and the throne, the purity of the one and the stability of the other, to recal to the recollection of its readers, in referring to the present striking prospects of the Jewish nation, that 'beginning at Jerusalem' lies in the very heart of that hallowed commission on which the Missionary Societies build their claims.

"It is on these grounds we feel pleasure in referring to the Anniversary Meeting of the Jews' Society. It began amid trials, it grew up in difficulties, but now, like the vine that came out of Egypt, it sends forth its branches from the Thames to the Jordan, and receives a countenance and a support which alone are signs of the age in which it takes a part. The most pleasing and at the same time impressive fact in the history of its proceedings was the appointment of Dr. Alexander as Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem. A chief Christian minister, a converted Jew, and once a follower of the tradition of the fathers, presides over the Christian clergy and laity in the city of vision, respecting which glorious things are spoken, and over which a glory is yet to shine more brilliant than the shechina which burned on the altar of Solomon, and from which, in all probability, those kindling rays are to shoot forth towards the east and the west, the north and the south, which are appointed, in the high purposes of God, to light up the imperishable splendor of an endless day."

Dr. Tholuck, of Halle, affirmed, that more proselytes from Judaism have been made within the last twenty years than since the first ages of the church. He bears ample testimony to the great effects which he has himself witnessed in Breslau, his native place. The city of Berlin alone is said

to contain nearly a thousand resident converted Jews, many of whom are known to be decidedly pious.

The Rev. A. S. Thelwell, who has been for six years missionary among the Jews, says thus : "I am well aware that an impression prevails to a great extent among Christians, that, as to our labors for the Jews, we are to expect nothing but bitter disappointment, instances of real conversions rarely occurring, if they be not entirely wanting. I must confess, in the face of heaven and earth, that this is not the case ; and that if we really knew the Jews, there is no more reason for desponding in working amongst them, nor in expecting true conversions to God, than there is among any other people on the face of the earth : in this respect, the hearts of all are alike. I can assure my friends of the great delight that I have experienced in the personal knowledge, I might say, Christian intimacy, which I had with twelve or fourteen individuals, members of the house of Israel, who were truly converted (if any one can speak with assurance on the subject) to the Gospel of Christ. I can testify that they were believers in the Lord Jesus Christ ; and that I never beheld brighter instances of the power of Divine grace than among those sons and daughters of Abraham. Were I at liberty to enlarge on this subject, I could tell that which would affect every Christian heart, as regards the spiritual communion I had with these converted persons. In another family that I met with at Amsterdam, there were six individuals, three sons and three daughters of Abraham, with whom I enjoyed delightful Christian intercourse ; and I can testify that, if ever I had on earth a foretaste of heaven, if ever I enjoyed genuine spiritual communion of the very highest order, it was amongst those converted Jews ; two of whom are now in heaven, rejoicing before the throne of God and the Lamb." He farther says, "Should any of my brethren have experienced much disappointment,—and this may be the case with some,—as for myself I must say, I have met with less among the Jews than the Gentiles,—I have no such complaints to make, but to give thanks to God, that He hath proved to me that His Gospel, on the heart of a Jew, is the power of God to his salvation."

While the members of the English church have been vigorously exerting themselves in the cause of God's ancient people, those of the Scottish Establishment have not been idle. The General Assembly, in 1838, appointed a "Committee for Promoting Christianity among the Jews," and in March, 1839, the committee came to the resolution of sending a deputation to Palestine, to inquire into the state of the Jews there. This deputation consisted of the Rev. Dr. Black, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen; the Rev. Dr. Keith, minister of St. Cyrus, (author of various well known works;) the Rev. R. M. M'Cheyne, of St. Peter's, Dundee; and the Rev. A. A. Bonar, of Collace. These gentlemen sailed from London on the fourth of April, 1839, having been amply supplied with letters of introduction to various ambassadors, consuls, merchants, and other persons who were likely to promote the objects of the deputation. They made known their progress from time to time in a series of most interesting letters, from the various places they visited, as Paris and many other large cities in France, Gibraltar, Italy, Egypt, the Holy City and many other places in the Holy Land. They returned by way of Turkey, Moldavia, Walachia, Austria, Poland, Prussia, Germany, and Hamburgh, to their native land.

The following are brief extracts from their report:—

"There is a law in our nature, according to which the sight of the object calls forth, in the most vivid manner, the emotion of the heart. Our blessed Lord himself evidently shared with us in this sinless and amiable infirmity. When he came near the gate of Nain, and saw the widowed mother following the bier of her only son, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, 'Weep not.' And again, 'when he saw the multitude of Galilee, he had compassion on them.' The sight of the object affected his heart, and drew forth the tender feelings that were treasured there.

"It was exactly in accordance with this law of our nature, that the Committee of our Church for the Conversion of the Jews came to the resolution, in March, 1839, of sending out four of their brethren, to go and see what was

the real condition of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The information received, by means of correspondence and printed documents, had produced a general and decided impression of interest in behalf of the Jews. Still it was felt that, if ministers of our own church were sent out upon a mission of kindness and inquiry to the various countries where the Jews reside, they would return, not only with fuller and more accurate information, but also with hearts kindled into a flame of holy compassion by the actual sight of the dry bones of Israel, in the open valley, very many and very dry.

"By the good hand of our God upon us, this interesting mission has been accomplished. And now, that we have been brought in safety back to our beloved land, and are permitted to stand once more in the venerable assembly of our church, it is our hearts' desire and prayer, that the anticipations with which we were sent out may be fully realized. We do feel that a vast weight of responsibility lies upon those of us who have been privileged to visit the many thousands of Israel—to see them wandering as strangers on the mountains of Judah—and spreading forth their hands in the synagogues of Poland. Our hearts do truly burn within us, not only to lay before the church the result of our inquiries, but to convey to all the vivid impressions of compassion to Israel which we have ourselves received.

"Could we but carry our fathers and brethren, and the Christian people of Scotland, through the scenes which we have witnessed,—could we communicate the feelings with which we beheld the Jews praying beside the ruined wall of the temple of Jerusalem, or the feelings with which we witnessed the extravagant devotion in the synagogues of Galilee, or the feelings with which we walked through the streets of Brody, where scarcely any but the bearded sons of Abraham are to be seen;—above all, could we make known, as vividly as we have seen, the thousand ways in which they go about to establish their own righteousness—praying to the dead, making pilgrimage to Jerusalem, wearing phylacteries, killing the capora, or dancing with the law

—we are quite sure that there would be but one thrill of sympathetic interest felt throughout the whole church; and one fervent effectual prayer would arise from all the praying families in Scotland—'Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!'"

The Report contained a dense statement of the information collected by the deputation, regarding the present state of the Jews, and a recommendation of various stations as suitable for missionary exertions. These were, Saphet in Galilee, Jassy, or Bucharest, Hungary, Posen, Smyrna, Constantinople, Leghorn, and Gibraltar. 1. Saphet, from its central situation and healthy climate, is well adapted to be the head-quarters of a mission; which might embrace, in its sphere of operations, the north, as the English mission at Jerusalem does the south of the Holy Land.* 2. Jassy seems preferable to Bucharest as a station, because the number of Jewish inhabitants is nearly seven times greater. It is believed that, though any direct effort for the reformation of the members of the Greek Church would be put down by the Moldavian government, it would not object to labors for the conversion of the seed of Abraham. 3. There is no missionary among the large Hebrew population of Hungary, amounting to two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand, so that this ample field is quite unoccupied. 4. As there are no fewer than seventy-three thousand Israelites in Posen, even the energetic exertions of the three missionaries, employed by the London Society, must leave abundance of room for the operations of the Scottish Church. 5. At Smyrna there is one laborer at present, but he is a layman. The principal obstacles to be encountered in this city, are, the difficulty of supporting converts, and the persecution

* Although, to use the words of the Deputation, the "Holy Land presents the most attractive and the most important field for missionary operations among the Jews," the qualifications necessary for an effective laborer there, as stated by Mr. Nicolayson, are great, since such a person would require to be acquainted with the Hebrew, Arabic, German, Spanish, and Italian languages, beside being well versed in prophecy, and in raobinical learning.

which the Jewish body have power from the government to raise against those of their brethren who embrace Christianity. 6. At Constantinople there are two missionaries, the one from England and the other from America; but the very large Israelite population, amounting to eighty thousand, would require a greater number of laborers. The Karaites would, it is believed, afford a good prospect of success to a zealous missionary; though, in the Turkish capital, the same obstacles might be felt as at Smyrna. 7. The influence of the Jews with the authorities at Leghorn might possibly put an end to all labors attempted in that city. The number of Scottish residents there seems to call for the appointment of a Presbyterian chaplain; and it occurred to the deputation that, in such a case, he might combine with his other duties that of preaching to the Jews, though aware of the inexpediency, in general, of uniting the two departments of ministerial exertion. 8. Gibraltar would present an important centre of missionary operations, on account of its vicinity to the coast of Barbary, of which all the towns contain a considerable proportion of Israelites. Although Austrian Poland, from the number of Jews which it contains, is a scene of great interest to the true friend of Israel, all present efforts in that quarter are hopeless, on account of the determined opposition of the government, which does not allow any one either to preach or distribute tracts among the inhabitants, whether adherents of Popery or Judaism.

As the deputation particularly recommended Jassy, Pesth, and the northern section of Palestine as stations, these will be first occupied by the General Assembly's missionaries. "The three positions," as the Committee remark, "would form a suitable chain of posts in this holy warfare." On the 11th of March, 1841, a day much to be remembered, the Rev. Daniel Edward, B. D., was ordained as a missionary to the Jews, by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in St. George's Church. The customary services were conducted by Mr. Candlish. The destination of Mr. Edward is Jassy, and a coadjutor has been appointed to him in the person of Mr.

Herman Philip, a convert from Judaism, who has been under the eye of the Committee for some time. The two laborers have left Britain for the scene of their pious exertions. The Rev. John Duncan, LL. D., formerly minister of Milton Church, Glasgow, and one of the most profound oriental scholars living, has also been set apart as a missionary to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He is to proceed in a few months to Pesth, accompanied by two students. May He, without whose blessing all human efforts are vain, abundantly prosper the labors of those who leave home and friends to proclaim the Gospel to the benighted seed of Abraham! *

It is gratifying to observe that the interest in the spiritual welfare of Israel, which extensively pervaded the members of the Church of Scotland, and occasioned the movement of the General Assembly, has by no means diminished, but, on the contrary, increased of late, as is testified by the subscriptions and collections† which have been sent in to the Committee. There is every reason to believe that this feeling will continue to gain ground; and that the members of the Established Church will make vigorous exertions for the support of the Assembly's latest, but not least, important scheme. When they remember how little it could have been expected, at the time of Dr. Duff's sailing to India, eleven years ago, that the name of that honored minister would now be classed with those of Schwartz, Martyn, and Carey,—and that flourishing missions would be established at each of the three presidencies, which have already been the means of much good, and promise to be the instruments of a far greater amount of benefit in future,—they will not

* We believe that several individuals are in training for the honorable office of missionaries to the Jews. A gentleman in Glasgow has relinquished a thriving business to devote himself to the work.

† The most interesting of these collections is that from the parish of Blairgowrie, where a revival of religion has testified its genuineness by the contributing of sixty pounds ten shillings among the poor people to the support of the first Jewish missionary.

look with despondency to the results of their efforts in the cause of God's ancient people.*

We have thus traced the History of the Jews from the Babylonish Captivity to the present time. For nearly twenty-five centuries they have been without a king, a priesthood, or a country, wanderers upon the face of the earth, forming, in the words of Maclaurin, "the most miserable spectacle that ever the sun saw;" yet, in spite of circumstances which tended to amalgamate them with other portions of the great human family, they have preserved their distinct individuality; they have been "intermingled with all nations, but united with none." † While the philosopher may speculate upon the causes which have produced this remarkable phenomenon, the Christian will recognize in it the hand of God fulfilling his own words, "The people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." During the whole of the period we have indicated, they have been God's "witnesses," not as before the advent of the Messiah, by testifying the unity of Jehovah in opposition to the polytheism of other nations; but, by attesting, in their own rejection and dispersion, the anger of the Lord against the unbelieving, and the truth of the prophecies delivered of old. Their past and present state thus furnishes to Christians the means of at once perceiving their own responsibilities, and repelling the cavils of infidels.

During those twenty-five centuries the Jews have been for the most part a despised and persecuted race.

Although the Jews have conferred such benefits on civilization in general by their studies, at a time when the

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* An Address to the Jewish people from the Church of Scotland, signed by the Moderator, Dr. Gordon, has just been published.

† "Amazing race! deprived of land and laws,
A general language and a public cause;
With a religion none can now obey,
With a reproach that none can take away:
A people still, whose common ties are gone;
Who, mixed with every race, are lost in none."—CRABBE.

Greek language and its whole valuable literature lay buried to the Western nations, the Hebrews were reading in their own language several works of Aristotle, Plato, Ptolemy, Apollonious, Hippocrates, Galen, and Euclid, derived from the Arabic of the Moors, who had conveyed them from Greece and Egypt, and in common with these they wrote upon them dissertations and controversial arguments. Hence the old classics were actively disseminated among the Latin colleges of Christendom. However, it is to be observed, that neither by Jews nor Arabs were the Greek poets and historians read. The genius of Homer, Thucydides, and Xenophon, would find no sympathy in an Oriental constitution of mind, or idea of political government. Pure science has in all ages thriven well beneath a despot; but not so the "Song of Harmodius," or the narrative of the "Ten Thousand."

Of mathematics, the Jews held the principal chairs in the Mohammedan colleges of Cordova and Seville; but, unlike the latter people, they brought themselves into contact with Christian society, and spreading themselves into various countries, they taught the geometry, the algebra, the logic, and the chemistry of Spain in the Universities of Oxford and Paris, while Christian students from all parts of Europe repaired to Andalusia for such instruction.

And then astronomy, the Chaldean science. In this they were teachers of the Moors. When the Gaonim left the Euphrates for the Guadalquivir, or Moses bar Maimon removed thence to Cairo, each of these Jews had as bright a firmament to survey, "with all its numbered stars," as had their prophet Daniel in Babylon, where he was "master of the astrologers and Chaldeans," with the tower of Nimrod for his observatory. That in such climates, where the planets, brimful of brilliance, seem running over with excess, the Jews could neglect their contemplation, is an incredible supposition, and false in fact:—"God said, Let them be for signs and for seasons;" this is found in the first page of the Hebrew Scriptures; and we are assured by themselves that at no time have they neglected the admoni-

tion. Hereditary astronomers, they pretended to hold traditional secrets brought by Abraham from the land of Hharran, and they appealed to the Hebrew names of constellations in the books of Job and Amos for the antiquity of their observations.

But how have they been treated in return, by the civilized nations? As the offscouring of the earth—despised, contemned, and persecuted—abused, reviled, and charged with the most abominable crimes, without evidence, unheard, and contrary to all probability. Nay, they have been treated like the wild beasts of the forest—have been proscribed, banished, murdered, or driven from one nation to another, but found safety in none.

The sums of money that have been extorted from them, on pretexts the most frivolous and barbarous, are incalculable. For the liquidation of the national debt arbitrary taxes were imposed on the Jews. Were public establishments to be founded, roads or fortresses to be built, or was there a time of scarcity, the purse of the Jew was always laid under contribution. Jewish money paid for the magnificence of a vice-legate's palace, as well as for the pomp and splendor of processions, and not unfrequently they were forced to take part themselves in ceremonies which their religion taught them to abhor.

"And with grief be it remembered," says an eminent English divine, "that a foul blot rests on the Christian name, from the manner in which we have treated our elder brethren the Jews." So early as the fourth century this evil spirit towards our brethren began to act: Elmacin relates, that in consequence of many Jews pretending to be Christians, while they were Jews in their hearts, swine's flesh was boiled, and cut into mouthfulls, and a portion placed at the doors of every church. All that entered were obliged to eat a piece of the flesh. Those that were Jews in their hearts refused: and were immediately put to death.

But as it may tend to greater certainty, and really so fully confirms what is suggested in holy writ, the following quotation from a Jewish author, complaining of their hard treat-

ment, though long, will be excused. It is taken from a work entitled, "An Appeal to the justice of kings and nations," cited in the transactions of the Parisian sanhedrim, page 64, and mentioned by M. Faber in his work on the Prophecies, Vol. iii. p. 55—58.

"By what crimes, have we, then, deserved this furious intolerance? What is our guilt? Is it in that generous constancy which we have manifested in defending the laws of our fathers? But this constancy ought to have entitled us to the admiration of all nations, and it has only sharpened against us the daggers of persecution. Braving all kinds of torments, the pangs of death, the still more terrible pangs of life, we alone have withstood the impetuous torrent of time, sweeping indiscriminately in its course, nations, religions, and countries. What has become of those celebrated empires, whose very name still excites our admiration by the ideas of splendid greatness attached to them, and whose power embraced the whole surface of the known globe? They are only remembered as monuments of the vanity of human greatness. Rome and Greece are no more; their descendants, mixed with other nations, have lost even the traces of their origin; while a population of a few millions of men, so often subjugated, stands the test of thirty revolving centuries, and the fiery ordeal of fifteen centuries of persecution! We shall preserve laws, which were given to us in the first days of the world, in the infancy of nature! The last followers of a religion which had embraced the universe, have disappeared, these fifteen centuries, and our temples are still standing! We alone have been spared by the undiscriminating hand of time, like a column left standing amidst the wreck of worlds and the ruin of nature."

It is hoped that, among Protestants at least, none now entertain feelings so alien to the spirit of the Gospel, though, in many quarters, there may be great indifference to the religious improvement of Israel. It is earnestly to be wished that this apathy may be removed; and that all who have themselves felt the power of evangelical truth, may take an unwearied interest in the cause of the Jews. Devoutly

is it wished that the welfare of that remarkable race may become a subject of deep interest to all classes of Christians, with a godly emulation, to forward the cause of missions to them. If, among the members of every orthodox denomination, the state of that people were made a constant subject of special prayer, private, domestic, and public—if suitable efforts were made to send faithful and well qualified men among the seed of Abraham, who should tell the Talmudist that the ritual observances which he so laboriously practises, are now naught in the sight of God, as belonging to a system, whose time has passed away—who should inform the Caraite that justice and integrity are only acceptable to the Most High, when they proceed from sincere faith in Christ, and unfeigned love to Him—who should make known to the Rationalistic Israelite, that, while even the truest "political regeneration" is not man's highest aim, it can only be accomplished by that religion to which modern times are indebted for their civilization,—and who should lay before all these classes the surpassing claims of the Gospel to their attention and acceptance. If this were done in that true spirit of piety which resigns itself entirely to the will of God, being prepared thankfully to acknowledge his goodness in granting, and reverently to adore his sovereignty in withholding, success; them might it be expected that the refreshing dew of the Spirit would abundantly descend, and cause the wilderness of Judaism more and more to "rejoice and blossom as the rose."

A learned Jew confessed to a missionary of Elberfield, that "he conceived the time when the Messiah should appear, to be elapsed, and that many others are of the same opinion."

The first of these opinions, it will be observed, is that of a modern, free-thinking Jew, who does not care much about the matter, the latter is that of a more serious inquirer, but who is still under the power of Judaical prejudices. The following is the view taken of the same important subject by a converted Jew, a man well qualified to form an estimate of the fact. He thus expresses himself;

"*A general conversion of the Jews appears really to be very near at hand.*" And what is the ground on which this learned Jew professes to rest this opinion? Surely it is one which the members of this Society will not hear without emotion:—"*For*," says he, "*the Lord has raised a spirit of compassion and love towards this so long time neglected and oppressed people.*" "It is not in one city," he proceeds, "or one country only, that active care is taken for their temporal and eternal happiness; but in many countries, nay in different parts of the world."

"For thus saith the LORD, Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the chief of the nations: publish ye, praise ye, and say, O LORD, save thy people, the remnant of Israel."

APPENDIX.

CEREMONIES OF THE JEWS.

SABBATH.

According to the Jewish computation of time, the day commences at sunset. On Friday evening, and about one hour before sunset on this evening, all business transactions and secular occupations cease, and the twenty-four hours following are devoted to the celebration of the holy Sabbath. I would here state, that all fast and feast days commence at the same hour with the Sabbath. The services of the Sabbath commence with going to the synagogue, where daily afternoon service is read, after which some very beautiful and appropriate hymns are sung by the reader and the congregations alternately. The following is one of the hymns :—

"Come, thou beloved Redeemer, come,
Thy waiting church to bless;
Shine forth to cheer thy Sabbath-day,
Thou Sun of Righteousness.

"Once thou hast said, Remember, keep
This sacred day to me;
And we, obedient to thy word,
Devote it, Lord, to thee.

"Thou, O Jehovah, art our God,
And thy great name is One!
All praise and worship and renown,
We yield to thee alone.

"In life's short journey we delight
To meet thy day of rest;

Wearied with six days' care and toil,
We love thy Sabbath rest.

"'Rise, royal city; Zion, rise,
Thy King's approach to hail;
Long has thy night of mourning been
In sorrow's gloomy vale.

"'Thus saith thy God, in richest love,
'Hear, O my people, hear!'
Thy dust and sackcloth lay aside,
In glorious robes appear.

"'To you, my people, Jesse's son
Hath full salvation brought;
By him, the man of Bethlehem,
Is thy salvation wrought.

"'Awake, arise; thy light is come:
Sing with triumphant voice;
Thy shame is past, thy sorrow gone;
Let Israel's sons rejoice.'"

Then the sabbatical evening service is read and sung While the males are attending to the services of the synagogue, the females occupy themselves at home in making preparation for the observance of the following day, which consists in covering all the tables with clean cloths; and they place upon the tables from which they eat their food, a lamp having seven branches, in token of the seven days of the week. When the mistress of the house lights the lamps she offers this prayer:—"Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us with his commandment, and commanded us to light the lights of the Sabbath." The reason why this ceremony is invariably assigned to the women, is because their original mother, by her crime in eating the forbidden fruit, caused sin.

They set two loaves of bread upon one of the tables, baked on Friday, and covered with a napkin, in memory of the manna which fell with dew under and upon it, yet descended not on the Sabbath, but on the Friday they had a double por-

tion. After prayers, the masters of families go home to their families, where they are received with more than ordinary cordiality. The parents then bless their children. If boys, the father puts his hands upon their heads, and says "Let God do unto you as he did to Ephraim and Manasseh; and if girls, he wishes them to be like Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah. If persons are ever so old, they will never omit to crave the parents' blessing, every Friday evening and Saturday morning After the ceremony of blessing, they washed their hands. This is done, not by immersing the hands, but by pouring water on them. After washing, they lift up their hands and say, 'Lift up your hands in holiness and bless the Lord." When they are placed at the table, the master of the family takes a cup of wine, repeating the first three verses in the second chapter of Genesis, and after giving God thanks, and enjoining them to observe the Sabbath, he blesses the wine, drinks, and gives some to the rest of the family. He then blessess and distributes the bread. They repeat the usual grace after supper, with the addition of making mention of the Sabbath.

In the morning they repair to the synagogue. It is known to every one, who is acquainted with the New Testament, that Christ and his apostles paid a profound respect to the services and worship of the Jewish synagogue. It is said of our Savior, in the commencement of his public ministry, that "his custom was," to go "into the synagogue on the Sabbath day." And he said of himself, the same night in which he was betrayed, "I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple." It is also written of Paul, that while he abode at Corinth, "he reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath."

It is certain from these passages, that the synagogue, if not divinely instituted, was at least divinely approved. It was sanctioned by the highest authority possible. It must furnish therefore a subject of investigation, which will not fail to interest every enlightened Christian.

My remarks will be directed,

I. To the origin.

II. To the services, and

III. To the principal officers of the Jewish synagogue.

It is certain that the Jews, from the earliest period of their history, were accustomed to assemble on the Sabbath, and at other stated seasons, for the purposes of religion. Still it does not appear that synagogues in the more appropriate sense of the term, were established among them till after the captivity The reading of the law was an essential part of the synagogue service. But it is difficult to account for a number of facts, recorded in the earlier part of the Jewish history, on supposition that the law was then frequently and statedly read among them. When Jehoshaphat sent teachers throughout Judea, to instruct the people in the law of God, they were obliged to carry a book of the law with them. And when a copy of the law was found by Hilkiah in the temple, its contents would not have surprised him, or the King, had books of that nature been common in those times. These facts sufficiently show that the law was not statedly read, and that synagogues were not instituted among the Jews, till after their captivity at Babylon.

In the days of Nehemiah we are informed of a public read ing and exposition of the law of God. This solemn service was performed by Ezra, and those elders who were appointed to assist him. The good effect which flowed from it, connected with the evils which were known to have resulted from a contrary course, probably led at this time to the conclusion, that such seasons ought to be more frequently observed. Immediately after this, the law became a subject of general attention and study. It was frequently and publicly read, not only in Jerusalem, but in other cities of the Jews. Most likely it was read at first, as it had been by Ezra, in the open streets. But the inconvenience of this method being severely felt, public buildings were soon erected, in which the service was performed. Such, it may be supposed, was the origin of the synagogue. These places of public instruction were afterwards greatly multiplied. According to Lightfoot, there were in our Savior's time, four hundred and eighty synagogues in the city of Jerusalem. The services of the synagogues which are next to be considered, consisted

of prayers, reading the scriptures, explaining them, and preaching.—The Jews have liturgies, in which are contained all the forms of prayer prescribed for the synagogue. The best of all these forms are those which they call by way of distinction, Shamona Esrah, or the eighteen prayers. It is presumed by some, that these were composed and instituted by Ezra. They certainly are very ancient; for they are spoken of in the Mishna, as old settled forms. Probably the most of them were used in the time of our Savior, and are the very forms in which he united when he worshiped in the synagogue. To these eighteen prayers, the Jews have since added a multitude of forms, which render this part of their instituted service long and burdensome.

The second part of the synagogue service was the reading of the scriptures. This was for many years confined exclusively to the law. The five books of Moses were divided into as many sections as their year contained weeks, and one section was read in public, every Sabbath. This continued to be the constant practice, till the time of Antiochus' persecution. At this period, the reading of the law was prohibited; and those books which they collectively denominated the prophets were substituted in its stead. These furnished the only lessons, till the reading of the law was restored by the Maccabees. After this period, the law and the prophets were both read in the synagogues; the first lesson being taken from the former, and the second from the latter. In this manner the service seems to have been performed in the days of the apostles.

The third part of the synagogue service consisted in explaining the scriptures, and preaching. The scriptures were explained to people as soon as read. When the exposition was concluded, there was an opportunity for preaching. In both the ways here mentioned, our Savior seems to have taught in the synagogues.

At the close of every synagogue service, a blessing was pronounced. This was done by a priest, if any of this order was present, if not, it was pronounced by the chief ruler of the synagogue

Synagogue services were performed every week, on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, which is the Jewish Sabbath; and three times on each of these days. In this, they confined the practice of the ancient Israelites, who invariably offered up their prayers three times a day.

Such is the synagogue worship at present among the Jews. There are three services, morning, afternoon, and evening. On their return from the last, a wax candle, or lamp with two wicks, is lighted and held by a child. The master then takes a glass of wine in his right hand and a box of spices in his left. After a prayer, the cup of wine being taken in the left, and the spices in the right hand, after another prayer, he and all the family smell of the spices, and taste the wine. This ceremony is called Habdalla, or separation, because it separates the Sabbath from all other days.*

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR.

The Jewish year is either civil or ecclesiastical. The civil year commences in the month Tishri, or September. The Jews have a tradition that the world was created on the first day of this month, and from this epoch they compute the age of the world, and make use of this date in all their civil acts. The ecclesiastical year commences about the vernal equinox, in the month Nisan, which answers to part of March and

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* Merits of observing the Sabbath, according to the tradition of the elders:—

We read that one rabbi says—"That to every one who makes the Sabbath a delight, an infinite inheritance is given." Another rabbi—"That he shall, besides, be delivered from serving monarchies." Another—"To every one who makes the Sabbath a delight, the desires of his heart are given." Another says—"Whosoever keeps the Sabbath according to its constitution, even though he were an idolator like Enosh, he shall be forgiven." Others say—"If Israel would keep the first Sabbath according to its constitution, no nation nor tongue should rule over them." Another says—"If Israel would keep two Sabbaths, they should be immediately delivered." Another rabbi says—"He that is accustomed to take great care in trimming his Sabbath lamp well, will have children who shall be disciples of the wise." The having a handsome Sabbath lamp is represented to be as necessary as providing food.

April. All the religious rites and ceremonies are regulated by the ecclesiastical year. On the first of every month they celebrate the feast of the new moon, praying God to restore them to the holy city, and erect the temple at Jerusalem, where they could render the offering for the feast according to the law, (Numbers, xxviii. 11.)

FEAST OF PASSOVER.

The Feast of the Passover commences on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan, and continues, with Jews who live in or near Jerusalem, seven days; and with those in all other places eight days. The Sabbath preceding the passover is called the *Great Sabbath.* On that day the rabbi of each synagogue delivers a lecture, explaining the various regulations necessary to be observed on the approaching festival. During the whole time, they are required to abstain from leavened bread, and to suffer no leaven in their habitations. On the thirteenth day of the month, in the evening, the most careful and minute inquisition is made by the master of each family, through every part of his house, in order to clear it of leavened bread and every other particle of leaven. All that can be found is collected together in a vessel, carefully preserved during the night, and, together with the vessel in which it is deposited, is solemnly burnt a little before noon the next day. No vessels are to be used that have had any leaven in them, and therefore the kitchen utensils used at other times are to be put away, and their places supplied by new ones, or by some that are kept from one passover to another, and never used but on that occasion. For the same reason, the kitchen tables and chairs, shelves and cupboards, undergo a thorough purgation, first with hot water, and then with cold. A few days before the passover, they make unleavened cakes, as many as will be wanted during the festival, to supply the place of common bread. Among other directions which regulate the preparation of the grain from which they are made, the meal is to be boulted in the presence of a Jew; and the dough is not to be left a moment without working or kneading, lest any fermentation should take place. The cakes are

commonly round, thin, and full of little holes; and in general they consist of flour and water only; but the more wealthy and dainty Jews enrich them with eggs and sugar; cakes so made, however, are not to be eaten on the first day of the festival. They are forbidden to drink any liquor made from grain.

On the fourteenth day of the month, the first-born son of each family is required to fast, in remembrance of the protection enjoyed by the first-born of Israel, when God smote all the first-born of the Egyptians.

In the evening of the fourteenth day of the month, the men assemble in the synagogue, to usher in the festival by prayers and other offices prescribed in their ritual.* It is customary for every Jew to honor this festival by an exhibition of the most sumptuous furniture he can afford. The table is covered with a clean linen cloth, on which are placed several plates or dishes. On one is laid the shank bone of a shoulder of lamb or kid, but generally lamb, and an egg; on another, three cakes, carefully wrapped in two napkins; on a third, some lettuce, chervil, parsley, celery, wild succory, or horse-radish. These are their bitter herbs. Near the sallad is placed a cruet of vinegar, and some salt and water. They have also a dish, representing the bricks required to be made

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* We select the following expressions from the Jewish ritual, among the multitude of others, to show what are the expectations of the Jews respecting the future passover:—

"The passover was given for a sign by the Lord and Ruler, that he will protect and deliver, pass over, and cause to escape, his people, on the future passover."

"The passover is prepared for the redemption of the captives, when the Lord shall go forth and fight against the nations on the future passover."

With respect to the future destruction of Rome, the following passage may be quoted from the Jewish prayers: "On the Passover a sharp sword shall fall on Edom, by the hand of him who is white and ruddy, as in the days of the feast of the passover."

"He who is fearful in his words, called it the night of preservations, for therein he brake the bonds of Egypt; he will break in pieces *the people that stamp on and devour all*, when he shall redeem his people on it the second time."

by their forefathers in Egypt. This is a thick paste, composed of apples, almonds, nuts and figs, dressed in wine, and seasoned with cinnamon. Every Jew who can afford wine, also provides some for this occasion.

The family being seated, the master of the house pronounces a grace over the table in general, and the wine in particular.* Then leaning in a stately manner on his left arm, as an indication of the liberty which the Israelites regained when they departed from Egypt, he drinks a glass of wine, in which he is followed by all the company. Having emptied their glasses, they dip some of the herbs in vinegar, and eat them, while the master repeats another benediction. The master next unfolds the napkins, and taking the middle cake, breaks it in two, replaces one of the pieces between the two whole cakes, and conceals the other piece under his plate, or under the cushion on which he leans, in professed allusion to the circumstances recorded by Moses, that "The people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes." He removes the lamb and egg from the table. Then the plate containing the cakes, being lifted up by the hands of the whole company, they unite in rehearsing, "This is the bread of poverty and affliction which our fathers did eat in Egypt. Whosoever hungers, let him come and eat. Whosoever needs, let him come and eat of the Paschal Lamb. This year we are here; the next, God willing, we shall be in Canaan. This year we are servants; the next, if God will, we shall be free, children of the family, and lords."

The lamb and egg are again placed on the table, and another glass of wine is taken. The plate containing the

* "Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast created the fruit of the vine. Blessed be thou for this good day, and for this holy convocation, which thou hast given us for joy and rejoicing. Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the times."

"O Lord our God, have mercy, we beseech thee, upon Israel thy people, and upon Jerusalem thy city, and upon thine altar, and upon thy temple; and build Jerusalem, the holy city, speedily, in our days, and bring us up into the midst of it, and make us glad therein."

cakes is removed, in order that the children may be excited to inquire into the meaning of the festival. If no children are present, some adult proposes a question according to a prescribed form, which is answered by an account of the captivity and slavery of the nation in Egypt, their deliverance by Moses, and the institution of the passover on that occasion. This recital is followed by some psalms and hymns. After which (not to proceed with a detail of every particular movement) the cakes are replaced on the table, and pieces of them are distributed among the company, who, "instead of the paschal lamb," the oblation of which is wholly discontinued,* "eat this unleavened bread" with some of the bitter herbs and part of the thick paste made in memory of the bricks.

After this, succeeds a plentiful supper, which is followed by some more pieces of the cakes, and two more glasses of wine; for they are required on this occasion to drink four glasses each; † and every glass, according to the rabbis, commemorates a special blessing vouchsafed to their forefathers. The fourth and last cup is accompanied with some passages borrowed from the Scripture, imprecating the divine vengeance on the heathens and on all the enemies of Israel. The same course of ceremonies is repeated on the second night. This ceremonial, the modern Jews profess to believe,

* The reason assigned by the rabbis for discontinuing the oblation of the Paschal Lamb, and the rites with which it was to be accompanied, is, that those ceremonies can be lawfully performed only in the land of Canaan, all other countries being unholy and polluted. But do the Jews now resident in Palestine perform those services? If not, what is the reason of *their* omission of so important a part of the law? and can the reason assigned by the rabbis, for the omission in other countries, be the true one?

† As to the ceremony of the four cups, the circumstances connected with them evidently show that they are not for the purpose of revelry, but part of a solemn religious observance.

"Over each of these four cups a benediction is to be pronounced—over the first cup is said the consecration of the day; over the second cup, the deliverance of Egypt is read; over the third cup, the benediction for food is pronounced; and over the fourth, the Hallel is completed, and the benediction for the song pronounced."

" will be as acceptable in the presence of the Lord as the actual offering of the passover."

The first two days, and the last two, are kept as days of high solemnity, being celebrated with great pomp, by extraordinary services in the synagogues, and by an abstinence from all labor, nearly as strict as on the Sabbath ; except that they are allowed to make a fire, dress their meat, and carry any things they want from one place to another. The four intermediate days are a kind of half-holidays, distinguished from common days only by the interdiction of servile work, and a long list of particular restrictions, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to recite. The last day of the festival is concluded with the ceremony called *Habdalla*, which, with the omission of the spice, is performed in the same manner as at the close of the Sabbath. After this, they are at liberty to return to the use of leavened bread. Contracts of marriage may be made, but no marriage is to be solemnized during this festival.

FEAST OF PENTECOST.

The Feast of Pentecost is on the sixth day of the month Sivan, the fiftieth of the Omer. From this circumstance it obtains the name of Pentecost, which is derived from a Greek word signifying the fiftieth. Moses calls it the Feast of Weeks, because it was fixed at the end of seven weeks from the offering of the sheaf; and the Feast of First Fruits, because an offering was then made of two loaves, the produce of the corn just reaped. This festival, which it has already been stated, now includes two days, is kept with the same strictness as the first two days of the Passover, and is celebrated with peculiar services in the synagogues. In some countries it is customary to adorn the synagognes and houses with flowers and odoriferous herbs. The book of Ruth is read, because the circumstances it relates took place at the time of harvest. At this time, too, the Jews maintain the law was delivered on Mount Sinai, and therefore that portion of Scripture which declares the delivery of the decalogue is solemnly read. The six hundred and thirteen pre-

cepts, said to comprehend the whole law, are also formally recited. The morning service of the second day is concluded with prayers for the dead.* On the evening of the second day the festival is terminated by the ceremony of Habdalla, performed in the same manner as on the eighth day of the passover.

"On the ninth day of Awb, which answers to July or August, in the fifth month of the ecclesiastical year, the Jews observe a strict fast, occasioned by the destruction of the first temple by Nebuchadnezzar. On this day, also, the second temple was burnt by the Romans. During this fast, they not only abstain from all food, but do not even taste a drop of water. In the evening they go to the synagogue, and, after their usual prayers, the book of Jeremiah is read in a low mournful voice.

There is not a more touching passage in the Jewish service-books, than the following mournful chant appointed for this day. It will probably be new to the readers, for the want of knowledge of what passes in the synagogues and amongst the Jews generally, is profound. Were it otherwise, we might perhaps attain to a more scriptural understanding of their position in reference to other things; but we pass on to give the poetical antithesis which loses much, very much by its transmutation into another tongue from the majestic Hebrew of the original.

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* This office is entitled "The Memorial of Departed Souls." "It is customary to make mention of the souls of departed parents and others on the day of atonement, and the ultimate days of the three festivals," Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, "and to offer for the repose of their souls."

"May God remember the soul of my honored father, A. B., who is gone to his repose; for that I now solemnly offer charity for his sake: in reward of this, may his soul enjoy eternal life with the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah; and the rest of the righteous males and females that are in Paradise; and let us say, Amen.

"May God remember the soul of my honored mother, C. D., who is gone, etc.

"May God remember the souls of my father and mother, and grandfathers and grandmothers, my uncles and aunts, my brothers and sisters, whether fraternal or maternal, who are gone," etc.

"Joy as fire, burnt within me, when I reflected on my going forth from Egypt;

"But now I am awakened to lamentation, when I remember my going forth from Jerusalem.

"Then Moses sang the song which shall never be forgotten, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But Jeremiah lamented with sorrow, lamentation and woe, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"My house was prepared, and the cloud abode thereon, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But the wrath of God rested on me as a cloud, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The waves of the sea roared, and stood up as a wall, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But the waters overflowed my head, and overwhelmed me, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Corn descended from heaven, and the rock issued water, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But I was satiated with wormwood and gall, and bitter waters, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"I arose early and continued until even, around Mount Horeb, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But I was called to mourn by the waters of Babylon, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The glory of the Lord was visible as a consuming fire before me, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But I was doomed to slaughter by the sharpened sword, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Sacrifice, meat-offering, and the anointing oil, were prepared, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But the peculiar people were taken and led as sheep to the slaughter, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Sabbaths and festivals were instituted, signs and wonders performed, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But fasting, mourning, and vexatious pursuit, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"How goodly were the tents, and the four standards, when I came forth from Egypt!

"But it was the tents of the Ishmaelites, and the camps of the uncircumcised, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The jubilee and the year of release for the land to rest were instituted, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But I was sold for ages, and cut off with severity, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The mercy-seat, ark, and stones of memorial were prepared, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But sling-stones, and destructive weapons, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"There were Levites, priests, and seventy elders, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But taskmasters, oppressors, sellers, and buyers, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Moses fed me, and Aaron led me, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But Nebuchadnezzar and the Emperor Hadrian oppressed me, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"When we prepared for battle the Lord was there, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But He was removed far from us, and was not near us, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The secret place within the veil, and the order of show-bread, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But wrath poured on me, covered me as a thicket, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Burnt offerings, peace offerings, and sacrifices by fire for a sweet savor, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But the precious children of Zion were thrust through with the sword, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Bonnets of honor were appointed to be worn for respect, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But it was hissing, shouting, shame and vexation that I experienced, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The plate of gold, with dominion and power, were conferred on me, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But there was none to help, and the crown was down, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Sanctification, the spirit of prophecy, and the tremendous divine presence, was I blessed with, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But filthy and polluted with the unclean spirit was I, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"I had song, salvation, and the sounding trumpets, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But the cries of the children, and the groans of the wounded, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The table, candlestick, whole burnt-offerings and incense, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But idols, abominations, and graven images, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"Thanksgiving offerings, the testimony, and the order of temple service, when I came forth from Egypt;

"But the want of the Talmud, and the discontinuance of the daily sacrifice, when I went forth from Jerusalem.

"The Lord God of Hosts showed us wonders, when I came forth from Egypt;

"And He will call his Divine presence, and his service, to return to the midst of Jerusalem."

The Rev. Mr. Evald, Mrs. Alexander, (wife of the late Bishop of Jerusalem,) Miss Yarborough, and Mr. Calman visited the Spanish synagogue at Jerusalem, on the eve of that memorable day, and says, "We went about seven o'clock in the evening to the Spanish synagogues to sympathize with the mourners. The Jews received us kindly, and pointed out seats for us. The synagogue was dimly lighted, each Jew present had a small wax taper in his hand, and sat on the ground chanting, in doleful tones, the history of their calamities. I sat myself on the ground by the side of an Israelitish acquaintance. When we had been about half an hour in the synagogue, the clerk came to us and said it was customary to put out all the lights, and that he came therefore to apprise us of it, lest we should be frightened. As soon as the lights were put out, they commenced weeping, wailing, and lamenting; it was truly awful; the shrieks went through our inmost souls; I never witnessed such a melancholy scene. This custom does not prevail among the Jews in Europe. Poor, poor, benighted brethren! well may you mourn; your sun is gone down, your glory departed, your house is left unto you desolate, and you have no comforter."

In the morning they attend the synagogue early, and read a portion of the law, and part of the eighth and ninth chapters of Jeremiah.

They go to the synagogue again in the afternoon, and read passages from the law and the prophets suitable to the occasion. All their prayers on this day tend to remind them of their captivity, and the destruction of their temple; which deprived them of offering the daily sacrifice, by which an atonement was made for their sins.

Besides the public fasts, which the Jews are commanded to observe, there are some others peculiar to the nation in

different countries. The German Jews, for instance, both after the passover, and the feast of tabernacles, keep three fasts, viz., Monday, Tuesday, and the following Monday. The reason assigned for this practice is, that they might, during the preceding feasts,* have committed some offence against God. They fast also on the vigil of the new year, and some on that of every new month. Several other fasts and festivals have been instituted, but not generally received, and are not observed at present.

The following is one of the prayers used on the day when a free-will fast is offered :

" Sovereign of the universe, it is clearly known unto Thee, that whilst the Holy Temple was established, if a man sinned he brought an offering, of which he offered only the fat and blood ; yet didst Thou in Thy abundant mercy grant him pardon. Because of our iniquities the Holy Temple is destroyed, and we have neither Sanctuary nor Priest to atone for us. O ! may it, therefore, be acceptable in thy presence, that the diminution of my fat and blood, which hath been diminished this day, may be accounted as fat offered and placed on the altar, and thus be accepted of me !

" Guardian of Israel, preserve the remnant of Israel, and suffer not Israel to be destroyed, who say, ' O Israel ! '

" Guardian of a single nation, preserve the remnant of a single people, and suffer not a single nation to be destroyed, who acknowledge the unity of thy name, saying, ' The Lord is our God—the Lord is our unity ! ' "

FEAST OF TRUMPETS.

The feast trumpets is celebrated on the first day of the seventh month. It is now generally called Rosh Hashanah, or the new year ; reckoning from the period of the creation. The reader will remember that the month Nisan or Abib was ordered to be the beginning of months, in commemora-

* This custom appears to be founded upon the practice of Job, who offered sacrifices for his children after they had feasted, for fear they should have sinned against God.—Job, i. 4, 5.

tion of the deliverance out of Egpyt; it is supposed to have been formerly the seventh month, and that the month Tishri, which commences with the feast of trumpets, was the beginning of the year. Both periods are now in use; by the former, called the ecclesiastical year, all the feasts and fasts are reckoned; and by the latter, or civil year, the Jews still compute time in the ordinary transactions of life.

For a month before the feast of trumpets, each day, after morning service in the synagogue, the ram's horn is sounded. This horn is just as it is taken off the ram, only a little straightened, and made capable of giving forth a sound. The common idea is, that this is to awaken the mercy of God towards them, by putting him in remembrance of the time when Abraham was about to offer up Isaac, and the Lord graciously pointed out to him a ram entangled in a thicket by his horns.

About a week before the feast, the Jews assemble every morning in the synagogue, at three or four o'clock, for prayer and prostration before the Lord. The prayers and confessions are very striking, calling upon God to pardon them whatsoever they may have done amiss, during the year that is past; and entreating for spiritual and temporal blessings in the year to come. The day previous to the feast, they go to the synagogue at two o'clock in the morning; again making confession of sin, and reminding God of his covenant with Abraham: this morning is called Zechor Berith, a reminding of the covenant. The following are some of the petitions used on this day:—

"Righteousness belongeth unto Thee, but unto us confusion of faces; what can we answer or say unto Thee, or how shall we be justified before our God? We will seek to return unto Thee, for Thy right hand is stretched out to receive the penitent, those that return unto Thee with their whole heart: Thou hearest their cries for Thy tender mercies' sake. We come before Thee, very poor and needy; do not, we beseech Thee, send us empty away. Our souls and bodies are Thine; thou hast made us; O! have mercy upon Thine own workmanship. Do this, for Thine own

name's sake, for thy name is gracious and merciful. If Thou shouldst mark iniquity, who could stand? But there is forgiveness with Thee that Thou mayest be feared: with Thee is the fountain of life: in Thy light we shall see light. We fall down before Thee, not in our own righteousness, but for Thy righteousness' sake. O Lord! let all Thy works praise Thee, and let all Thy creatures worship before Thy face; may they all be knit together in one *knot*, to do Thy will with their whole hearts. Give honor unto Thy people, praise to those that fear Thee, faith to those that seek Thee, and open the mouths of those that wait for Thee: give joy unto Thy land, and gladness unto Thy city; cause the horn of Thy servant David to be exalted; and may the light of the son of Jesse, Thy anointed, be in order speedily, even in our days. And may Thy kingdom speedily begin upon all Thy works, upon Zion, the dwelling of Thy glory, and in Jerusalem the city of Thy holiness, according as Thou hast declared in Thy holy words: 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever, even thy God, O Zion, to all generations. Hallelujah.'"

On the morning of the feast of trumpets, after assembling in the synagogue, they again renew the confession of their sins during the past year, and entreat mercy and forgiveness. The general expectation is, that at this season, in which the original creation was accomplished, the recreation, or restitution of all things, will take place; that the Jews shall be restored to their own land, and the peaceful reign of Messiah commence. Much of the service of the day has a direct reference to this subject.

The trumpet, which is the ram's horn before mentioned, is sounded thirty times by a devout man. The following prayer is said by him, before he begins: — "May it be acceptable in thy presence, O Lord, my God, and the God of my fathers, The God of heaven, and the God of the earth; the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob; the great God, mighty and tremendous; to send me the holy and pure angels, who are faithful ministers, and faithful in their message; and who are desirous and willing to justify

Israel; and also the great angel Patzpatziah, who is appointed to present the merits of Israel, when they sound the cornet this day; and likewise the great angel Tashbash, who is appointed to declare the merits of Israel, and confound Satan with their sound of the cornet; and the great princes, who are appointed over the cornet, Enkatham and Pastam; and the great angels, Hadarniel and Sandalphon, who are appointed over our sounding, who introduce our sounding before the throne of Thy glory; and also the angel Shamshiel, who is appointed over the joyful sound; and the angel Prasta, who is appointed to superintend the sounds, that they may all be expeditious in their errand; to introduce our soundings before the veil, and before the throne of Thy glory; and mayest thou be filled with mercy over thy people Israel; and lead us within the temperate line of justice; and conduct thyself towards thy children with the attribute of mercy, and suffer our soundings to ascend before the throne of thy glory." The first sound is called Malchuth, or the kingdom; and is accompanied with an invocation to God, to reign over the whole creation, in the fulness of His glory; that every creature may know Him to be the King, and every living soul say, "the God of Israel reigneth."

The second sound is called Zechrounouth, or Remembrances; this is to remind God of His promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and to entreat Him to remember their posterity with mercy.

The third sound is called Shouphrouth, or the trumpets;* this is to call to remembrance the time when, after having delivered them out of the bondage of Eygpt, God gave them the law from Mount Sinai, with the sound of a trumpet; and to invoke Him to hasten the time when the great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall all come to worship the Lord in the holy Mount of Jerusalem, (Isaiah xxvii.) The reader will remember a striking coincidence in the use of this symbol, in the book of Revelation; that when the last trumpet is sounded, it is announced that "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and He shall reign forever and ever." (Rev. xi. 15.)

* The prayer at the conclusion is offered through "Jesus, the appointed Mediator, the Prince of God's presence," for the acceptance and for the rendering effectual of this ceremony.

DAY OF ATONEMENT.

From the beginning of the new year until the tenth day, on which the feast of the atonement is celebrated, they are wont to call Asereth Yemay Tshuvah, or "the ten days of repentance;" and on these days they mortify themselves severely by fasting, pray much, and affect great piety;* that if God shall have written any one in the book of death, and shall have appointed for him a bad year, he may now look upon his repentance and good works, and change it into good for him, and restore him to the book of the living on the day of expiation, and then at length seal up his judgment.

They thrice recite their confession every morning; they excommunicate no one; they summon no one before a court; they bring a solemn oath on no one.

On the ninth day they rise very early, go into the synagogue, and pray and sing much. As soon as they return home, every male—boys as well as men—takes a cock in his hands, and the women each a hen; those which are with child take both a cock and a hen. Afterwards, whoever is master of the family, with the cock in his hands, first comes forth into the middle of the company, and repeats from the Psalms of David, (cvii. 17,) *Fools, because of their transgression and because of their iniquities, are afflicted. Their soul abhorreth all manner of meat; and they draw near unto death. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he saveth them out of their distresses. He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions. Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing.* He next repeats Job xxxiii. 23: *If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand, to show unto man his uprightness: Then he is gracious to him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit: I have found a ransom,* (namely, this cock or hen, which shall expiate my sins.) He then approaches the atonement, and dashes the cock three times on his own head and follows each stroke with these words: "This cock is

* Prayers to the angels, as well as to the dead, to intercede during the above days, is another means which they have recourse to.

my substitute, it is in my stead, it is my atonement, it shall suffer death, but I and all Israel shall have a happy life." He does this three times in succession, for himself, his children, and the strangers that are with him; as the High Priest also made expiation under the Old Testament according to what we read in the book of Leviticus. He then kills the cock. He first draws together the skin of its throat, and thinks within himself, *that he himself is worthy of being choked or strangled;* he next opens the windpipe with a knife, and again thinks within himself, *that he is worthy to suffer by the sword:* immediately afterwards, he throws it with his whole force on the ground, to denote that *he himself is worthy of being stoned.* Lastly, he roasts the cock, that in this way he may shew *that he himself is worthy to be burnt to death.* Thus it is made to suffer these four kinds of death for the Jews.

The intestines they usually throw on the roof of the house, in commiseration of the birds, that they may share in their sacrifice. Others, however, say that this is done because sins being an internal, rather than an external thing, their sins cleave to the intestines of the cock, and the crows come and fly away with the sins of the Jews to the desert, even as the goat under the Old Testament escaped to the wilderness with the sins of the people. They also take pains to procure a white cock for this oblation, and avoid a red one altogether, because a red one is already covered with sin; for sin itself is red, as it is written, (Is. i. 18,) *If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.* Now if the cock be white he is infected with no sin, and can bear the sins of the Jews; but if he be red he is altogether covered with sins, and is therefore unfit for bearing the sins of the Jews.

But the cause why they use a cock rather than any other animal, is this:—In Hebrew a man is called Gebher. Now if Gebher, (man,) has sinned, Gebher, (man,) must also sustain the penalty of sin. But since the punishment is heavier than the Jews can bear, they substitute for them-

selves a cock, which in the Talmudical, or Babylonical dialect, is called Gebher, and thus the divine justice is satisfied : because, as Gebher has sinned, so Gebher, i. e. a cock, is sacrificed.

In their evening assembly in the synagogue, there is generally a deep and solemn feeling awakened. It is commonly believed, that at this time God sits as supreme judge, and disposes of all things ; allotting to each individual the events that are to befall him in the ensuing year. The whole congregation are dressed in white garments, kept by them expressly for this occasion, and which garments are finally used as their grave clothes. It will easily be believed that this is a time of much solemnity ; the thoughts of many revert to their dear departed relatives, who perhaps a year before sat beside them, arrayed in those vestments which have since enveloped their breathless clay ; while others have the terrors of approaching death brought vividly to their own remembrance. Many sighs and tears accompany the prayers that are then offered up. The rich are to be humbled, by seeing themselves dressed in the same way as the poorest in the assembly ; seeing there is a time when all must return into the ground whence they were taken ; the vanity of earthly grandeur is thus shown forth, and the equality of all men in the presence of God, as poor and helpless sinners. Service lasts, on this evening, till nearly ten o'clock. A rigid fast is observed for the same length of time, which has been formerly mentioned ; not even a drop of water being taken ; and on this day children, only eleven years old, frequently join in the general abstinence ; this is not imposed on them as a duty at that early age, but most of them do it willingly.

The next morning they again meet in the synagogue, and remain there until evening. The whole day is spent in prayer, and reading the psalms and other scriptures ; and also an account is read of the services of this day, as performed of old in the temple. Many of the prayers are very beautiful ; short quotations only can be afforded.

" O God ! before we were created, there was no worthiness in us, that we should be created ; and now that we are

created, we are as unprofitable as if we had not been created. We are before Thee as a vessel filled with shame and disgrace; may it please Thee, O God! that we may sin no more; and blot out, through Thy mercy, all our transgressions."

"O our God, and the God of our fathers! be pleased to teach all Thy servants who are standing before Thee this day how to pray; may we ask nothing but what is in accordance with Thy will; and be gracious unto us; for thou hast declared by Thy holy prophets, that Thou wilt be gracious unto whom Thou wilt be gracious," etc.

After that part of the service is read, detailing the mode of this day's celebration in the temple, they again acknowledge their transgressions, and plead for the mercy of God, saying,—"We have no high priest, no sacrifice, no temple, no shechinah; but we look for Thy free mercy, for Thou art gracious and merciful." In the evening the service is concluded by the sounding of the horn, in commemoration of the sound of the trumpet, which, in Leviticus xxv. 9, is commanded to be sounded on the day of atonement. This was the signal when every man was to return to his inheritance; and is now considered as symbolizing the time when the iniquity of Jacob shall be purged,—when the Messiah will come and sprinkle clean water upon them, and they shall be clean,—when the jubilee shall be proclaimed, and they shall return again unto their own land.

FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

The next of this series of annual solemnities is the Feast of Tabernacles, which is commenced on the fifteenth day of this same month of Tishri. It is regarded as a season of great joy.

The lesson read in the synagogue, on the first day, is Zech. xiv., in which this feast is mentioned in connexion with the restoration of Jerusalem. At certain parts of the service, they take in their hands, as commanded, branches of palm, myrtle and willow, and the fruit of the citron. While on the subject of the public service, it occurs to me to mention

two of the blessings, which are not peculiar to this feast, but common to all; and which will show how unfounded is the notion some Christians entertain, that the resurrection of the dead is not a doctrine distinctly recognized as an article of faith among the Jews :—"Thou wilt establish Thy faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust. Thou art also faithful to revive the dead. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who revivest the dead!"

The tabernacle or booth, in which they were commanded to dwell seven days, is now generally erected by the Jews in some garden or court-yard adjoining their houses. It is an enclosure, about twelve or fifteen feet square; and is composed on three sides of boards, the fourth side being left open. The roof is generally thatched with branches of trees, it being necessary that the stars should be seen through it, in order to show that it is but a temporary dwelling, not a ceiled house. In this tent the family assemble, after returning from the synagogue; and having blest the Lord for giving them the feast of tabernacles, they sup together in it. Unless the inclemency of the weather renders it impracticable, every meal is taken there during the seven days of the feast. In southern climates, where the air is temperate, and rain is hardly known at that season, the tabernacles are of such a size as to enable the family to live in them entirely during the seven days; but in these northern latitudes this is not attempted, except by certain individual members of the family who may choose to do so. It may be mentioned, that when rainy weather occurs during the feast of tabernacles, it is always considered as a mark of God's displeasure.

The seventh day is called Hoshanna rabba, the great salvation; from the idea that their future great deliverance, and restoration to their own land, will take place at this time, and that the eighth or great day of the feast will be spent in rejoicing over this final deliverance. On this day they go round the synagogue seven times, carrying the palm and other branches in their hands, and singing hymns; saying, "Save us, O God, for thy name's sake; save us for thy righteousness' sake," etc. There are many traditions re-

specting the joyful manner in which the eighth and last day of the feast was kept, while they were yet in their own land. They used to draw water from the fountain of Siloah, which they poured out on the altar ; and as the Levites were ascending the steps, it is said, they sung the Psalms called the songs of degrees, or *steps*, as it may be translated. The rejoicing was so great, that it was a common saying, " that he who has not seen the joy of the drawing of water, does not know what joy means." This ceremony is thought to be referred to in the twelfth chapter of Isaiah ; and also by our Lord, in John vii. 37.

FEAST OF THE DEDICATION.

The feast next in order is one little known to Christians (although it is alluded to in the New Testament,) as it commemorates an event that occurred after the close of the Old Testament history. It is the Feast of the Dedication, in remembrance of the cleansing of the sanctuary, by Judas Maccabeus. As many readers may be little acquainted with this part of the history of the nation, the narrative shall be given as related in the First Book of Maccabees.

Judas Maccabeus, having put to flight the army of Lysias, he and the other Jews went up to Mount Zion, and after lamenting the desolation of the sanctuary, they began to purify and repair it. They pulled down the altar which had been profaned by the heathen, and built a new one. " Now, on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month (which is called the month Chisleu,) in the hundred and forty-eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice according to the law, upon the new altar of burnt-offerings which they had made. Look at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that it was dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps and cymbals. Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away. Moreover, Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation of Israel, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year, by the space of eight

days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Chisleu, with mirth and gladness." 1st Maccabees, iv. 52—59.

There is no public service appointed for the feast, because the books of Maccabees, never having been admitted by Jews to a higher rank than that of uninspired history, cannot be read in the synagogues. It is commemorated in the daily private devotions, by a special prayer and thanksgiving, appointed to be used during these eight days; and in the family, by the lighting of candles or lamps, in remembrance of Judas and his followers having "lighted the lamps that were upon the candlesticks, that they might give light in the temple." 1st. Mac. iv, 50. One is lighted on the first night of the feast, and one more added every night during its continuance.

FEAST OF PURIM.

The last of these commemorative ordinances is the Feast of Purim, mentioned in the ninth chapter of Esther. It is kept on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the twelfth month. It is now, as at its first institution, "a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another." Esther, ix. 19. On the thirteenth day of the month, there is a fast, in remembrance of that kept by Esther, before she presented her suit to the king. On the evening of the fourteenth, and morning of the fifteenth days, there is a service in the synagogue, in which the narrative of the Jews' deliverance, and the overthrow of their enemies, is read from the book of Esther; and as often as the name of Haman is mentioned, it is customary for the children (who have little wooden hammers,) to knock against the wall, as a memorial that they should endeavor to destroy the race of Amalek. It is a time of much social joy; members of the same family meet together at each other's houses, and send presents one to another.

Such is, at this day, the mode of observing these outward ordinances, which has served to accomplish the prophecy concerning them, during the long period of more than three thousand years: "Lo, the people shall dwell alone and shall not be reckoned among the nations."

In conclusion, it may be mentioned, as not generally known to Christians, that though there is no officiating priesthood, yet the family of the priests and the remnant of the Levites that are scattered among the dispersion of Judah, are distinctly known, and have certain privileges attached to them. The family of Aaron, who all bear the name of Cohen (priest) subjoined either to their proper or family name, have the privilege, on all occasions, of reading the first chapter in the law; and on the festivals, that of pronouncing the blessing; which is the same given by the Lord to Aaron and his sons, recorded in Numbers, vi. 24—26, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." The Levites read the second chapter in the law; and on festival days perform their ancient office of waiting on the priests; presenting to them a basin of water and a towel, that they may wash their hands immediately before they pronounce the blessing. All the Cohens present pronounce the blessing with one voice; which, when they are numerous, has a solemn and imposing effect.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage is considered the indispensable duty of every Jew. The time which the rabbins have assigned as the most proper for discharging this obligation, is the age of eighteen; and men who remain in celibacy long after are considered as living in sin.*

* Inasmuch as peculiar blessings are pronounced in the Holy Scripture on parents and the fruit of the womb. The natural wish for issue is thus heightened by a religious feeling, which accounts for the strong and impassioned desire which exists in every Hebrew bosom. They believe in a sort of purgatory, or intermediate state after death, out of the torments of which the souls of parents may be delivered by the prayers of their children. The poor Jew who scarcely earns his daily bread, longs for a family as earnestly as would the most wealthy of his nation.

In accordance with this obligation, i. e. to early marriages, societies are to be found among the Jews which endow poor females with marriage-portions, so as to enable them to marry, and thus fulfil the law.

When a marriage is agreed upon, the promise is made before witnesses; which is called *betrothing*, or *espousing*. Matt. i. 18. The parties continue betrothed sometimes six months, sometimes a year, or more, before the union is consummated.

Their marriage ceremonies, in different times and places, have exhibited some unimportant varieties, but the latest of their own writers have given the following general account of them, as performed in this and other countries in the present age.

On the day fixed for the solemnization of the nuptials, the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the place appointed for the celebration of the ceremony. The bride is escorted by women, and the bridegroom by men. The company is generally large, including most or all of their friends and acquaintance. Ten men, at least, must be present, or the marriage is null and void. The chief rabbi and chassan of the synagogue form part of the company.

A velvet canopy is brought into the room, and extended on four long poles. The bride and bridegroom are led to their station under this canopy : the bridegroom by two men ; and the bride by two women, her face being covered with a veil. These two men and two women are always the parents of the bride and bridegroom, if they happen to be living : otherwise this office is performed by their nearest kindred ; a man and his wife for the bride, and another man and his wife for the bridegroom ; though the bridegroom is led by the men, and the bride by the women. The parties are placed opposite to each other, and then the person who performs the ceremony, takes a glass of wine in his hand, and says : "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe ! who createst the fruit of the vine. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe ! who has sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast forbidden us fornication, and has restrained us from the betrothed, but hast permitted us those who are married to us by means of the canopy and wedlock. Blessed art thou, O Lord ! who sanctifiest Israel." The bridegroom and bride then drink of the wine ; after which

the bridegroom takes the ring, and puts it on the bride's finger, saying, "Behold, thou art wedded to me with this ring, according to the law of Moses and Israel."

Then the marriage contract is read, which specifies that the bridegroom, A. B., agrees to take the bride, C. D., as his lawful wife, according to the law of Moses and Israel; and that he will keep, maintain, honor and cherish her, according to the manner of the Jews, who honor, keep, maintain and cherish their wives; and that he will keep her in clothing decently, according to the custom of the world. This instrument also specifies what sum he settles upon her in case of his death; and he obliges his heirs, executors and administrators, to pay the same to her out of the first produce of his effects.

After the reading of this instrument, the person performing the ceremony takes another glass of wine and repeats seven benedictions. Then the bridegroom and bride drink the wine; after which the empty glass is laid on the floor, and the bridegroom, stamping on it, breaks it to pieces. This part of the ceremony is said to be an indication of the frailty of life. Then all the company shout, *Good luck to you!* The ceremony is followed by a contribution for the poor Jews at Canaan. The nuptial feast is as sumptuous as the parties can afford, and continues for seven days.

TREATMENT AT THE BIRTH OF A CHILD.

It is the custom for the father of the family, or some pious person, at the hour of delivery to write above the door, around the inside of the walls of the apartment, and upon the bed, words of the following import, "Adam and Eve," the meaning of which is explained by them to be:—"If a son, may he be healthy like Adam, and if a daughter, be beautiful like Eve." If the child chanced to be a son, they make great rejoicings; but if a daughter, she is received with gratitude, but not with exultation.

Circumcision on the eighth day from the birth, whatever day of the week that may be, is invariably performed. Ten persons are necessary to attend, and a female employed by

the mother brings the child to the door of the apartment or synagogue, and gives it to him who is appointed to hold it during the operations, who, on entering, is hailed by the company in the following words : " Blessed be he who comes."* When the operation is finished, the operator says : " Blessed be the Lord our God, who has sanctified us by his precepts, and given us the law of circumcision ; " to which the father replies : " Who has sanctified us by his precepts, and hath commanded us to enter the child into the covenant of Abraham our father ; " and the bystanders add : " As thou hast made this child enter, as thou hast received it with the covenant of Abraham our father, cause also that it may enter the law of Moses, into matrimony, and into good works.

The child is generally named after the performance of the ceremony.†

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* MERIT OF CIRCUMCISION.—" It is an affirmative precept, binding on every man of Israel, to circumcise his son ; and this is greater than any of the other affirmative precepts, for there is a threat of excision attached to it ; and further, on account of it, thirteen covenants were made, as is recorded in the chapter of circumcision. Abraham was not called perfect until he was circumcised, and by the merit of circumcision a covenant was made with him representing the giving of the land. It also delivers from the judgment of hell, for the wise men have said that Abraham our father sits at the door of hell, and does not suffer any one that is circumcised to be cast into it. Uncircumcision is despised, for the Gentiles are reproached with it, as it is said all the nations are uncircumcised, (Jer. ix. 25 ;) and every one who breaks the covenant of Abraham our father, either by not being circumcised or by becoming uncircumcised, has no part in the world to come, even though he possess a knowledge of the law and good works."—(Joreh Deah, 260.)

† The ceremony of redemption of the first male born is still used, and is performed in the following manner :—" When the child is thirty days old a descendant of Aaron is sent for, (for, be it observed, that the house of Aaron and the house of Levi still retain their *genealogy*, as it has been already noticed,) and the company, which generally consists of ten persons, being met, the father brings silver or gold in a cup or basin, to the value of five dollars at least, and the child is put into the priest's hands, who asks the mother aloud whether the boy is hers ? and if she had any other male or female, or untimely birth ? To all of which, when satisfactory answers are given, the priest declares that the child, as first-born, belongs

EDUCATION.

The education of the young is thus conducted among the Jews :—At the early age of three years they are sent to school, agreeably to the custom of the nation ; and it is here designed to show how anxious Jewish parents are to train up their children in the fear of God, and with a regard to His Word. So soon as a child is able to speak, he is taught to repeat, on first opening his eyes in the morning, this prayer :—"I thank Thee, the living and everlasting King ; for Thou has restored my soul within me in Thy great and faithful mercy."

When the child is washed he repeats, in addition to the general form of prayer, Pslam cxi. 10 : "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord : a good understanding have all they that do his commandments · his praise endureth for ever."

On bringing a male child to school for the first time, a shawl, called in Hebrew "Talith," edged with fringes, is cast over him, the same as the Jews cover themselves with in time of morning prayer. This custom is grounded on Numbers xv. 38,—"Bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments," &c.—and practised in the belief that the blessing annexed will be granted to their children : "that ye may look upon it and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them." The reason why Jewish parents are so particular in the early education of their children, is based on Deuteronomy vi. 7 : "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children," &c. The rabbis say, it is an imperative duty for parents to train up their children in their early days in the way they should

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to him (Priesthood ;) but that he is willing to restore him to his lawful parent on receiving the money which the law enjoins. The money is accordingly delivered, being more or less, according to the ability of the parent, and the day is concluded with rejoicing. But if the first-born be a girl, there are few ceremonies. The minister of the synagogue, a month after the birth, pronounces a benediction upon the infant, and gives her a name.

go. The child is provided with a large home-baked cake of gingerbread, having inscribed upon it the words of Isaiah l. 4, 5, turned into a prayer: "O Lord God, give me the tongue of the learned, that I may know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary. May I awake morning by morning: may mine ear awake as the learned. O Lord, open mine ear, that I may not be rebellious, nor turn backwards." This cake is distributed amongst all the children of the school, except a few crumbs which are placed on the child's alphabetical primer, and which he eats from off the letters as he names them in succession. This singular custom is practised by the strict class of Jews in Poland and Russia, in order that the letters of the alphabet may come, for the first time, to the child's mind with sweetness. He is taught to read the Prayer-Book, the Psalms, and the Old Testament, in the Hebrew tongue. As soon as he can read the text with points, he commences the work of translation, without learning any thing of grammar. The teacher pronounces the original word, telling its meaning at the same time, and repeats a certain portion in this way until his pupil knows it. When the boy can translate tolerably, he then begins the Pentateuch again, with the exposition of Solomon Jarchi, the difficulties of which are orally explained to him by his instructor. After he is master of this, he begins the Talmud, of which he is usually able, by the help of a commentary, to make out the sense at the age of ten. At thirteen he becomes a *bar mitzvah*, or "son of the commandment," and is then accounted responsible for his own sins, which, down to that time, had been borne by his father. About the same period he is expected to expound publicly in the synagogue some difficult passage of the Talmud. He then begins to wear the phylacteries, which are mentioned in Deuteronomy vi. 8: "And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and as frontlets between thine eyes." No Jew makes use of these phylacteries until he completes his thirteenth year, but from that day he is bound to tie them round the head and left arm whilst he says his morning prayers, during the remainder of his life, the Sabbath and other holidays excepted.

The following address is made by the father to the son in the synagogue :—

"My son, I do hereby, in the presence of the Almighty God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and in the presence of this congregation, discharge myself from all your future sins ; be thou, therefore, strong, and show thyself a man, and keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his commandments as they are written in the law."

He then says a blessing, thanking God for his mercies in delivering him from this charge, and all present say "Amen!"

Such is the complete course of Hebrew education. The poverty of some constrains them to rest satisfied with a knowledge of the Pentateuch, or, in addition, of Rashi's Commentary. The penury of the parents is, however, often supplied by the richer portion of the community, and those who cannot afford to contribute in money, give board for one or two days in the week to those students who have come from a distance. If a scholar shows more than usual signs of promise, he is generally taken into the house of some affluent individual, who maintains him entirely at his own expense, and frequently gives him the hand of one of his daughters.

This system of instruction is confined to males.* Females are instructed in Hebrew, but they are generally obliged to be content with reading it, not being qualified to translate it.

In the Mishna, the life of man is thus divided:—"A son of five years old, to the law. A son of thirteen years, to the precepts. A son of fifteen years, to the Talmud, (of which the Gemara was a part.) A son of eighteen, to marriage. A son of twenty, to acquire riches. A son of thirty, to strength. A son of forty, to prudence. A son of fifty, to give advice. A son of sixty, to old age. A son of seventy, to grey hairs. A son of ninety, to a pit, (as ready to stum-

* The reason of this is, that every son is obliged to offer a prayer, morning and evening, after the death of a parent, for eleven months. They call it "Kadesh."

ble into it.) And a son of a hundred, is as if dead and departed from the present life."

TRADE.

We have said nothing about the children being taught a trade, and the following extract from the Talmud will show that the practice was general. "What is a father commanded to do to his son?" To circumcise him; to redeem him; to teach him the law; to teach him a trade, and to take him a wife. Rabbi Judah saith, "He who teacheth not his son a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief." And Rabbi Gamaliel saith, "He who hath a trade in his hand is like a vineyard that is fenced;" and we find amongst the writings that some of the most distinguished men, were those who worked at a trade.

HOSPITALITY AMONG THE JEWS.

"Be not forgetful to entertain strangers," is much more generally exhibited among the Jews than amongst other nations.* When a poor Jew arrives in a town where he is a

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* "And when he eats and drinks, he is bound to feed the stranger, the orphan, and the widow, with the other poor. But he that bolts the doors of his house, and eats and drinks with his children and his wife, but does not furnish meat and drink to the poor and afflicted, is not to be regarded as having fulfilled the commandment; on the contrary, his joy is that of a glutton, and of such persons it is said, 'Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted; for the bread for their soul shall not come into the house of the Lord.' (Hos. ix. 4.) (Arbah Turim, 529.)"

[From Hilchoth Matt'noth Aniim, cvii. 1—5.]

"It is an affirmative precept to give alms to the poor of Israel, according as the poor have need, if in the power of the giver; for it is said, 'Thou shalt open thine hand wide to him,' (Deut. xv. 8;) and again, 'Thou shalt relieve him, a stranger, that he may live with thee;' and again, 'That thy brother may live with thee,' (Lev. xxv. 35, 36.) Whosoever sees a poor man begging, and shuts his eyes against him, and does not give him alms, transgresses a negative precept; for it is said, 'Thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother,' (Deut. xv. 7.)

total stranger, if there be but a few of his brethren in the place, he goes to them without hesitation ; well assured that, be they rich or poor, he will receive from them food or lodging. If he is a devout or learned man, he is received with honor and distinction, however mean his outward appearance may be. In a town where there is a synagogue, a poor stranger goes to one of the deacons appointed for this and other offices of charity, who gives him a card of introduction to one of the wealthy members of the congregation, who immediately provides for his wants ; if he is going a distant journey, he is often provided with letters of recommendation to the next town, at which he means to stop ; and thus a Jew not only may, but, as is well known to my brethren, often travels over a great part of the continent of Europe with scarcely a penny in his pocket. It may be asked whether such conspicuous kindness is never abused ? I believe, comparatively, seldom, but however this may be, it has never operated as a check upon the fulfillment of what the Jews consider a sacred duty.

Neither is hospitality confined merely to their own brethren, but their hearts are open to all those who need their sympathy and assistance. One striking instance, out of many hundreds, will be seen by the following account forwarded by the Rev. L.

According as the poor hath need, thou art commanded to give. If he has no clothing, he is to be clothed ; if he has no furniture, it is to be bought for him ; if he has no wife, he is to be helped to marry one ; if a woman, she is to be assisted in getting a husband : yea, if it had been the poor man's custom to ride upon a horse, and to have a servant running before him, but he is now come down in the world, it is a duty to buy him a horse to ride, and a servant to run before him, for it is said, ' Sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth,' (Deut. xv. 8 ;) and thou art commanded perfectly to relieve his want, but not to make him rich. If an orphan apply for assistance in order to marry, it is a duty to hire a house for him, and to provide all necessary furniture, and afterwards to help him to marry. If a poor man come and ask for relief, and the giver has not as much as he wants, he ought to give what his means afford. How much ? He that gives a fifth of his property, fulfils the commandment well. He that gives one part in ten fulfils it in a middling manner. He that gives less must be regarded as a person with an evil eye."

Hoff, of Cracow, a missionary to the Jews. It appears that about a century ago, more than twenty thousand peaceful citizens were expelled from their native country, the province of Salzburg, then under the rule of prince Maximilian Gandolph, of Khienburg, the Roman Catholic archbishop, on account of their religion, based upon the pure word of God, the Bible. These inhabitants received an asylum through the Christian generosity of Frederick William I., king of Prussia, in Prussian Lithuania. The conduct of the Jews towards them is thus recorded by the author: —

"Every where the exiles met with a kind and friendly reception from the Jews, one of whom thus accounted for this proof of their benevolence: 'It is true they are not of my religion, nor of my nature; but I behold in them men created in the image of God, who has commanded us to do good to the stranger.' The sight of them reminds me of my ancestors when they went out of Egypt, and who, no doubt, would have been pleased if others had done good to them on their journey and received them with hospitality. The noble conduct of the Jews in the village of Klein, Noerdlingen, deserves to be particularly mentioned, more especially as it affords a strong contrast to that of the Roman Catholic inhabitants. The emigrants arrived in this village on the 18th of August, 1732; the heat was most oppressive; both men and their cattle suffered intensely from thirst, and sunk exhausted on the ground. But the Christian inhabitants looked on without pity. In obedience to the instructions of their priest, they had removed the buckets in the wells, and refused to supply the fainting pilgrims with water, even for payment; much less would they afford them any other refreshment, but were lavish in applying insult and opprobrious epithets to the strangers, in which they were energetically assisted by their worthy priests. When the Jews saw this, they took the thirsty ones to their wells, and assisted them to the best of their power, brought bread and beer to them as refreshments, and gave them, moreover, pecuniary assistance.

"At Hildesheim, Weimar, and Harburg, also, the Jews manifested benevolence and hospitality to the exiles.

"At Halberstadt, the Jews made a collection of thirty-six dol-

lars (Prussian) for the strangers, and the presents given by them to individuals amounted to at least one hundred dollars. An anathema was at the same time published in the synagogue against every one who should venture to take any advantage or profit from the travellers.

"The Jews at Gunzenhausen, all poor people, collected two dollars, which they handed over to Goebel, the Prussian commissary, who conducted the wanderers, for the Salzburgers.

"At Regensburg, a Jew of the name of Solomon, offered to take the charge of twenty of the travellers, but he could only get twelve for his share; these he entertained most excellently, and loaded them with presents.

"At Halla, a Salzburger had got a new florin piece; not knowing the coin, he amused himself with throwing it from the one hand into the other, pleased with its shining appearance. Some Jews were standing close by, and one of them, in joke, snatched the piece of money from the stranger's hand. He, however, took the matter seriously, and said, 'May God pardon your taking from me this grosch.' The Jew at once returned the money and added a present besides.

"At Nauen, a Jewess stood in the street distributing money to all the emigrants who were passing by. At that moment, one of them who was sick, went into a chemist's shop for some medicine, which was given him gratuitously. The Jewess noticing it, offered him some money on coming out, but could not induce him to take it. The commissary afterwards asked why he had refused it. He replied, "The woman had not the appearance of being able to give much away. Perhaps she stood herself more in need of the money than I do, and I should then have committed a sin in accepting any thing of her.'

"The Jews at Frankfort, on the Oder, expressed a great desire not to be excluded from taking a part in the public entertainment given to the travellers, and contributed thirty dollars to the collection made for them.

"At Berlin, the Jews not only distributed presents among the strangers on their arrival, but handed also over to Mr. Von Herold, (a gentleman high in office, and, as it appears, appointed by the king, director-general of the affairs of the exiled Salz-

burgers,) the sum of thirty-three dollars, eight groschen, the amount of a collection made for them in the synagogue, and two hundred and four yards of linen.

"Among the emigrants, there was a boy, John Laupnechler, who had a fundamental knowledge of the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and by his answers, full of clearness and courage, had repeatedly silenced Roman Catholic priests, for which he also had to suffer much. He, as well as others of the exiles, were, in different places in Protestant Germany, examined respecting their doctrines, and the foundation of their faith. A poor Jew was present at the examination of John Laupnechler, at Berlin; with which he was so delighted, that the following day he brought a dollar, which he wished to be distributed among the children of the Salzburgers.

"One division of the emigrants approached the frontiers of Hesse Cassel. Here they were met by a deputation from the Jews of that country, who handed to them the sum of forty thousand dollars, which they accompanied by the following words: 'The circumstances under which we behold you, remind us of our fathers when they left Egypt. We admire your conduct in leaving your country for the reason that you have shown. We request you to accept this money as a proof of our sympathy with you in your situation.' Some of the travellers were so affected by the kindness thus shown towards them, that they exclaimed, 'Can it be that these people, who have always been represented to us as our enemies, should put to shame our brethren, professing, like us, to believe in Jesus, but who, notwithstanding, persecute us vehemently; nay, even drive us into exile!'

"At Königsberg, where the poor wanderers were already near their new dwelling-places, a Jewish merchant, by the name of Moses Levin, made them a present of two hogsheads of wine."

Another instance of Jewish benevolence, exercised by Jews towards their Christian neighbors, is taken from the Orient: —

"The inhabitants of the Bohemian Erzgebirge, a population of about forty thousand, were reduced to the greatest poverty, some years ago, by the loss of their principal branch of industry, the manufacture of laces. But the failure of the potato

crop, during the past year, brought their destitution to such a pitch, that many are said to have been found dead on their pallet of straw, who were prevented by want of clothing from going abroad to beg their bread. Their misery having reached the ears of Mr. L. Lowenfeld, the Jewish proprietor of a neighboring calico manufactory, who has above five hundred Christians in his employment, he at once endeavored to supply the most immediate wants of the nearest places, and forwarded repeatedly forty to fifty loaves to them. But he felt soon convinced that such isolated relief could avail but little, where the distress had attained such an awful height, and that, in fact, no local resources could meet this general famine. He, therefore, went to Prague, to find the necessary immediate assistance among his commercial friends, and to make known, as widely as possible, the awful state of hunger in the mountains. He was joined in his exertions by his brother, Mr. H. W. Lowenfeld, who resides in Prague, and they succeeded, by their joint appeals to many rich mercantile houses in Prague, both Jewish and Christian, in at once collecting the sum of ten hundred and two florins for immediate relief, and in establishing an association for the future assistance of these sufferers. The active exertions of this body continue to this day; and not only have they greatly assisted the poor with food, clothing and money, but they have also, by their zeal and public appeals, been the means of forming similar associations in other places and countries. Up to this day the contributions for the above object have amounted to more than one hundred thousand florins, all in cash, besides clothing and food. It was a Jew who gave the impulse to this great work, as has been testified by the magistrates and local authorities, who have, both orally and verbally, borne their testimony, that it is to him that they owe their lives. Even the magistrate and citizens of Joachim's Thal, a town where, according to Austrian law, no Jew is admitted, have publicly acknowledged that half of their inhabitants must have died of starvation, had no Jew visited their town during the past winter."

Notwithstanding this, the bigotry and oppression of the Austrian government still continues, although the Jews have already, in ancient times, given proofs of great valor. In Bohemia they

assisted the Christians under Boleslaus II., in repelling the heathen hordes who devastated the country; as a reward for which, they obtained leave to build a synagogue in Prague. They distinguished themselves greatly at the siege of Prague by the Swedes, in 1648. Among the fortifications erected by them, a redoubt on the White Mount, near Prague, bears still the name of "Die Judenschanze," (the Jews' fort.) As a reward for their conduct in this war, they were permitted to have a small bell in their council-house, for summoning the congregation; and the old synagogue at Prague, is still decorated with banners, which fell to the share of the Jews on this occasion. And although, at the present time, more than fifteen thousand Israelites may be found serving under the Austrian banner, and a few have attained the rank of subordinate officers, and received gold and silver medals as rewards for good conduct, there have been but very few instances in which any of the higher distinctions have been accorded to them. At present, there is not only not a single officer of the Jewish nation in the Austrian army, but the Jewish soldier, who has become an invalid and a cripple, has not even the bare consolation of being able as a citizen to begin a small trade, or to obtain a subordinate office in the state.

Since very little is known about the different Societies existing among the Jews, it will be desirable to give a short sketch of a few of them, especially of the literary ones; for besides their many benevolent Societies of which we have mentioned several, they have numerous literary societies, a few of which I will endeavor to describe.

The first and most important is the Babylonian Talmud Society, designated *Chevrah Shas*, whose object is to study and to promote the study of the Talmud. All the members constituting this Society are first-rate Talmudists, and most respectable. The following are a few of its rules: —

No one can be admitted into this Society unless he is able to read the Talmud with facility, and understand it thoroughly; he must also be recommended by members; his character must be blameless; and he is required to pay a certain sum into the treasury. During the first three years he is considered as a

junior, or, as he is called by them, *Shamesh*, i. e. steward; he has no vote; but is required to carry out notices for convocations, to collect subscriptions, &c. All, whether rich or poor, must observe these rules. At the expiration of three years, he is to pay another sum of money, and to make a feast for the members of the Association, and he then becomes a lawful member. If the candidate for admission happens to be the son of a senior member, he is entitled to certain privileges. Every member must be an annual subscriber; with which subscriptions schools are established, books bought, and poor Talmudic students clothed, &c.

Every member must read a folio every morning; after public morning prayers all the members are required to meet in the *Beth Hamedrash*, or college, (which is generally near the synagogue,) and read it together; but as some are occasionally prevented from attending public service, they must read it by themselves at home; but as many of them as attend the synagogue, immediately after service, retire to their college in their *talith* and *t'phillin*, and read it, and discuss it together. They attempt to reconcile many glaring contradictions and unfounded assertions; a great deal of ingenuity and acuteness is displayed, and thence arise numberless disputes. Of these disputes they are passionately fond; and it is an object of the highest ambition to defend their own tenets, and to attack those of their opponents. All those Talmudists are capable of reasoning powerfully upon any subject with which they are acquainted. The Chief Rabbi always presides, and is umpire, to avoid endless controversy; for there are sometimes a hundred together, and sometimes a great many speak at once. At the conclusion of a treatise, (for the Talmud consists of thirty-six treatises,) every member must be present; then is a time of rejoicing; they provide wine and biscuits, and partake of them immediately after the conclusion. The Patron delivers a lecture, showing the connection between the treatise just finished and the following one. If it happens to be on a fast-day, the fast is made null and void, and they are very ingenious in arranging the readings in such a way as to make them end on a fast-day. Once in seven years the whole of the Talmud is concluded; when a

great feast takes place, which is a day of great rejoicing. Rabbis are invited from different places to attend; for its conclusion varies in their respective towns; a great many honors are conferred upon such as have distinguished themselves in discovering something new, or in appearing to reconcile some really irreconcilable statements.

The second literary Association is called *Chevrah Mishnah*, or Mishnah Society; into which inferior persons are admitted, because it is considered much easier than the Talmud. It is conducted on the same plan, only with less pomp. The members of this Society, who happen to be members of the Talmud Society, read the appointed chapter in the Mishnah before morning service. In fact, every member of the Talmud Society is a member of the Mishnah Society. As the Mishnah is a great deal less than the Talmud, it is concluded once in three years; so that in every Beth Hamedrash in Poland are to be seen two large tables at each end of the room, crowded with Jews, who study these books in their talith and t'phillin, and display much earnestness. Some poor Jews, who are rather ignorant, sit by them, and listen to the explanation, so that some instruction is afforded to the poor and ignorant. When a rich Jew dies, he sometimes leaves a legacy for poor but learned men; that every morning during a whole year they may read in his behalf a chapter in the Mishnah, which he thinks will alleviate his tortures in purgatory; according to their opinion even the most righteous Jew must lie eleven months in a purgatory.

The third literary Association is called *Chevrah Ain Yakob*, or Ain Jacob Society, also designed for promoting the reading of that book which is called *Agadoth*. It consists of all the allegories, fables, absurdities, indecencies, and wonders found in Talmudic lore.

The fourth Association is termed *Chevrah Mikra*, or Scripture Society. Its object is to read the Scriptures together daily at the Beth Hamedrash. The appointed hour is before public evening prayers. It is conducted by a very learned man, who reads aloud; and all the members listen with profound attention. There is no disputing here, but every thing is in perfect order. Questions are asked, but in a spirit of humility. The commen-

taries employed for that purpose are those of Rashi, or Jarchi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Abarbanel, M'zudoth, David, &c. The members of this Society have a profound knowledge of the Scriptures. Since the "London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews" began to accommodate the Jews abroad with cheap copies of the Old Testament, free from all the above commentaries, there is generally to be found in every large town inhabited by Jews, in Poland and Russia, a Society of young men, called *Chevrah Tanach*, whose object is to read the Bible without any comment; for which purpose these young men have a room to themselves, for the Beth Hamedrash would not be allowed for that purpose. All these young men are sceptical about the Rabbinical oracles; and it is most probable that the present movements amongst the Jews, and the cry for reformation, and "No Rabbinism," owe their existence, under God, to the London Society, in giving free course to the oracles of God among the Jews, to whom they were first committed.

The fifth Association is called *Chevrah Korah*, or the Law Society, whose object is to study the Pentateuch, with all the Cabalistic commentaries, viz., Zohar, Medrash, Yalkut, Alshich, &c. Alshich is a great favorite with them. This Society consists of all kinds of tradesmen, who are busy the whole week, and can scarcely find time to attend the synagogue. They assemble themselves on the afternoon of Saturday in the Beth Hamedrash, (as it is read only there for their benefit,) when their Principal reads the Pentateuch aloud, and explains it, so that the most ignorant can understand. It is indeed a wonderful scene to behold a Jewish Beth Hamedrash in Poland on a Saturday afternoon; to see ten or twelve large tables surrounded with pious Jews, who have a zeal for God. Were even their greatest enemy to visit such a scene, he would be struck with their piety. It would inspire him with a spirit of love and affection, and his prejudice would be turned into sincere respect for the Jewish nation; but the fact is, their real state is far from being known and considered by the majority of Christians.

The Torah Society have a fast-day on the seventh day of the month Adar, (which is generally about the end of February or beginning of March,) as it is supposed that Moses died on that day.

Thus I have given a brief view of a few of their literary Associations, all of which tend to keep learning alive, and always secure a great number of learned men among them.

Literature has ever surrounded the Jews in countries the most barbarous, and under circumstances the most unfavorable to their condition. This has resulted mainly from the ardent attachment they ever felt to their sacred books, and the attention they religiously gave to their contents. Their faith is embosomed in the richest literature — their dearest hope is embalmed in the songs of David and in the strains of Isaiah. The paths that lead to their God are strewn with the choicest flowers of literature — the very praise and hosannahs they lift up in their synagogues to the God of Abraham are, because inspired, couched in the profoundest and the most thrilling poesy; and thus the Jews never could be Israelites, without being in some measure also literati;* they could not excel the nations in religious knowledge, without excelling them in literary excellence also. No people were ever placed in social and political circumstances less favorable to mental excellence or literary progress, than the Jews.

THE TALMUD.

The following is an extract from the Pesachim, fol. 49. col. 2:—

"The following passage is an exposition on the words, 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh.' Psalms ii. 4. Rabbi Isaac says, The Holy One, (blessed be He!) laughs not except on that day alone. How is that? for Rabbi Judah says, that Rav says, the day has twelve hours, the first three the Holy One sits and occupies himself with the law; the second, he sits and

* In the Journal of the Literary Convention at New York, Appendix No. 1, 1831, it is stated that of the literati of Spain the Jews are the most prominent. Of Jews, five hundred and sixty-one have written on philology, twenty on astrology, sixty-seven have written commentaries of various kinds, eighty-four on philosophy, fifty-two on grammar, thirty-six on medicine, eighteen on history, eighteen on mathematics; fifty-seven poets, sixty-eight Talmudists, nineteen theologians, and seventy-three translators. In foreign universities, the chairs are occupied by Jews, of distinguished attainments. Petersburg, Halle, and Warsaw, exemplify this.

judges the world. When he perceives that the world deserves utter destruction, he stands up from the throne of judgment, and sits on the throne of mercy. The third, he sits and feeds the whole world, from the horns of the unicorn to the eggs of the vermin. The fourth, he sits and plays with leviathan, for it is said, 'The leviathan thou hast formed to play (or to laugh) therewith.' Psalm civ. 26. R. Nachman, the son of Isaac, answers this apparent contradiction between R. Isaac and R. Judah, by telling us that 'there is a difference between playing with his creatures and laughing at them.' R. Nachman, the son of Israel, says, 'He plays with his creatures, but he does not laugh at them, except on *that day*,' (of Gog and Magog.) R. Acha says to R. Nachman, the son of Isaac, 'The Holy One laughs not since the day of the desolation of the temple.' And whence is it proved to us that he laughs not? Is it from that which is written, 'And in that day did the Lord call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness?' etc. Isaiah xxii. 12. But, perhaps, the passage means that only that day, and not the following time; we must rather refer to the Scripture: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do not remember thee.' Psalm cxxxvii. 5. But, perhaps, the passage only refers to not forgetting, so that the laughing may also take place; therefore it is to be proved from the words, 'I have long time holden my peace; I have been still, and refrained myself,' etc. Isaiah xlii. 14. What does he do in the fourth three hours? He sits, and teaches the law to the children of the house of Raban; for it is said, 'Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts.' Isaiah xxviii. 9. To whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand doctrine? Answer, 'Those who are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts.' But who taught them from the beginning? If you wish, I will say Metraton, and if you wish, I will say he, (God.) But what does he do in the night? If you wish, I will say the same as in the day; and if you wish, I will say he rides upon his cherub, and visits eighty thousand worlds. And if you wish, I will say, he

sits and hears a song out of the mouth of the living creatures; for it is said, 'The Lord commands his kindness in the daytime, and in the night his song is with me.' Psalm xlii. 8.

"Rabbi Eliezer says, 'It is lawful to split open the nostrils of an unlearned man on the day of atonement, which falls on the Sabbath. His disciples said unto him, Rabbi, say rather that it is lawful to slaughter him. He replied, that would require a benediction, but here no benediction is needful.'

"If the righteous wished, they might create the world, for it is written, 'But your sins separate,' etc. Rabba created a man, and sent him to Rabbi Zira. He spoke with him, but when the other did not answer him, he said, Thou art from the magicians; return to thy dust. Rav Chanina and Rav Oshain used to sit every Sabbath eve, and study the book of Jetzirah, and then created for themselves a three year old calf, and ate it." — Sanhedrim, fol. 66, col. 2.

The following anecdotes from the Talmud are interesting, on account of the resemblance they bear to some passages in the New Testament: —

"Rabbi Hillel, who was one of the princes of the Jews in Babylon, was remarkable for his meekness and patience. A person one day laid a wager with another that no one could irritate Rabbi Hillel's temper. An impertinent fellow undertook to make the experiment, and accordingly went to him one Friday afternoon, as he was busily preparing for the Sabbath, and asked him a number of frivolous questions, all of which the rabbi answered with the greatest meekness and love. The man went away disappointed; but another fellow resolved to try his skill. He therefore went immediately to the rabbi, and said, 'Can you teach me the whole law during the time I am able to stand on one foot?' 'Yes,' answered the rabbi, mildly, 'the whole law is contained in this one rule: Whatever you would not wish your neighbor to do to you, do it not to him. This is the law; the rest is only an exposition of it.'"

The following parable has some resemblance both to that of the marriage supper, and the ten virgins: "Rabbi Eliezer told his disciples, that as no man knows the day of his death, we ought at all times to be prepared for it; and he illustrated the

matter by a parable. A certain king told his servants that he purposed to make a feast for them. Those that were wise among them made themselves ready, and sat down before the door of the palace, waiting for the invitation; but the foolish servants did not prepare themselves, but went away every one to his labor, thinking it would be some time before the king would perform his promise. Then suddenly the king called his servants to the feast; the wise entered into the palace, and the king rejoiced with them; but he was exceedingly wroth with the foolish servants. He said to the wise, 'Sit down and feast with me; but the foolish, who are not prepared, must stand afar off, and hunger and thirst.' For thus saith the Lord, by the prophet Isaiah: 'Behold my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; behold my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty; behold my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed; behold my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit.'" Isaiah lxv. 13, 14.

The following anecdote illustrates the doctrine of our knowing we have the petitions we ask of God, before we receive them: "Rabbi Chanina Ben Dousa was one day asked to pray for the recovery of Rabbi Gamaliel's son. After having retired for some time, engaged in prayer, he told the messengers they might return, for that the fever had left the sick person, and he would recover. They marked down the hour, and found on their return that it was as he had said. When asked how he knew this, he said, 'That he was no prophet; but his grandfather had instructed him, that if he in prayer feels God sympathizing with him, and assisting him to pray, he may know his request will be granted.'"

There is another interesting anecdote told of the same rabbi. He was informed that a poisonous serpent had bit several persons very dangerously. He asked them to point out to him the place where the serpent was. When they came to it, he placed his heel on the hole, and the serpent bit him, but it died immediately, and the rabbi was unhurt by the bite. He took the dead serpent, and placing it before his disciples, said, "It is not the serpent that can kill; it is sin that kills."

The following sayings of Rabbi Nehemiah, respecting the state of the world previous to the coming of the Messiah, will not be uninteresting to Christian readers, who are watching the signs of the times, and expecting His glorious appearing: "In the generation before the Messiah when the Son of David will come, these will be the signs; the youth will have no reverence for the aged; the ancient will be obliged to stand up before the young; the daughter will rise against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; the son shall not be ashamed in the presence of his father; and the faces of that generation will express the impertinence of dogs."

In another place he says, "In the generation of the Son of David, insubordination will increase; the worthy shall be oppressed. Although the vine yield her fruit, yet shall there be no substance in the grapes, as a mark of the curse. All the nations will disbelieve their own religions, and many of the Jews will give up the faith and expectation of the coming of the Son of David."

The Targum, or interpretation, is the Chaldee paraphrase on the Old Testament or written law, as the Talmud is the paraphrase on the oral law or traditions. It received its origin from the seventy years' captivity at Babylon, where the Jews learned the language of their masters; for, having returned home, they were better acquainted with the Chaldee than the Hebrew; and, therefore, Ezra and the other priests read the Scriptures in Hebrew, and explained them in Chaldaic. There are three paraphrases of peculiar note, viz., Onkelos on the law, Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the prophets, and Joseph Cæcus on the hagiographa. Others say, Onkelos on the law, and Akila on the prophets and hagiographa. The style of Onkelos is simple, and resembling the Scriptures. He is said to have lived about the time of our Savior. Jonathan Ben Uzziel was a disciple of Hillel the elder, who was forty years old at the return from Babylon. But we hear nothing of Cæcus.

Besides the Talmud, there is another book which the Jews consider very sacred, entitled the Zohar, or the Great Light; it is also sometimes known by the title of Cabala, of which Rabbi Simon Ben Yochai was the author, who lived between the first

and second centuries. The following is an account of its origin: —

"One day, when some of the Jewish doctors were met together, a rabbi named Pupas, who had visited Rome, related to his friends the wonders he had seen, dwelling especially upon the works of public utility, such as the bridges, the baths, and the highways. Rabbi Simeon was much displeased at his commendation of the Romans, saying, that all they had in view was self-exaltation. Upon this, Rabbi Pupas, deeply offended at being contradicted, went to Rome and informed against Rabbi Simeon. He was, accordingly, summoned to Rome; but for a long time escaped the vigilance of the police. On one of these occasions, when the police were in close pursuit of Simeon, (who was in company with his son Eliezer,) God revealed to him a cave, in which was a fig tree and a spring of water. In this cave both of them took shelter, and were nourished twelve years on the fruit of the tree, and refreshed by the spring of water. During this long time they were instructed in the Cabala by the prophet Elijah. On coming out of the cave at the end of twelve years, so absorbed were they in the study of the Cabala — the only true way of knowing God — that they looked on every secular pursuit as profanity, unworthy of men created in the likeness of God. By their frowns they consumed many towns and villages, with hundreds of people, and the cattle that were ploughing in the fields within their sight. On this, God commanded them to return back to the cave, lest the whole world should be consumed by them; and there they remained other twelve years. During this period, Rabbi Simeon composed the Book of Zohar, still enjoying the instruction of the prophet Elijah. On leaving the cave the second time, the frowns of Rabbi Eliezer were as destructive as Rabbi Simeon's had been the first time; but the blessing of Rabbi Simeon restored all that Rabbi Eliezer had lain waste. They hid the Zohar in the cave, where it was found four hundred years after, the roll being as fresh as if written only yesterday."

The Book of Zohar is supposed to have been afterwards compiled and arranged by Rabbi Abba, by whom it was reduced to writing. This work contains striking coincidences with the

Christian doctrines, both generally and individually. They are, for the most part, intermixed with Jewish superstitions, or at least veiled under Old Testament figures and imagery. Even at the present day, though the book is generally acknowledged by the Jews, their young people are not permitted to read it, and even the elders seldom look into it. The Jews know so well the tendency of the work to be in favor of the Messiah, that they have designedly expunged several passages. It presents, in very obscure and uncommon metaphors, Old Testament, New Testament, and Oriental Pantheistic notions. All this we can readily conceive combined in an author of that age. The Jewish theologians of those days, who devoted themselves to deep research, had almost all formed for themselves, out of the Old Testament, a system which asserted the emanation of all things from God, and is thus far Pantheistic. Moreover, these ancient theologians were liberal minded, and did not deny, for polemic reasons, the testimony of several passages in favor of the Messiah. Thus its intermixtures are explicable from the very character of the deep theologians of that age. Its obscurity may have been occasioned, not only by the multiplicity of ideas, but by the desire not to excite suspicion. It is said, in one passage, that Jochai was thrown into prison, on account of his doctrine of the prophecies, and of the resurrection of the Messiah, son of Ephraim. This circumstance shows that the author had, in fact, already awakened suspicion amongst the Jews, and had cogent reasons for delivering his opinions obscurely.

SELECT PASSAGES FROM THE BOOK ZOHAR.

I. *God created Man in his own image, with the power to continue holy, or become a sinner.*

"And Elohim (God) created man in his own image," (Gen. i. 26,) i. e. in the image of Metatron. Who is the Elohim that created him (man)? The living Elohim, the everlasting King. "In the image of Elohim created he him;" in the image of Samael,* from whom the other Elohim (the false gods) derive

* The rabbins try to discover a deep meaning in the parallelism, (Gen. i. 27,) viz., the first member of the verse indicates man's disposition to good; the second, his disposition to evil.

their origin, as it is written, (Exod. xx. 3,) "Thou shalt have no other gods but me." In so far then as man is good, God created him in the image of Metatron his servant, who is subject to his Lord, and therefore it is said, "And God created man *in his* image," i. e. in the image of Metatròn. But in so far as man is evil, God created him in the image of Samael, the serpent, the angel of death, who is empowered by the Holy One (blessed be he!) to exercise judgment in hell over such men as are not found righteous. Therefore it says, Vahyetsare, (the Iod doubled,) in order to indicate that man was created with a tendency to good, — in virtue of which he belongs to the kingdom of Metatron, who also assists him in executing the commands of the law; wherefore it is said, "I will make him an help-meet." But man is also created with a tendency to evil, wherein he so far belongs to Samael, who, as it is further said in the passage above quoted, "is an adversary unto him;" and tries to seduce him into sin, in order then to judge him in hell. Both these accompany man, in two forms.

II. *By sin, Man lost the image of God.*

Come and see! At first we are told (Gen. i. 27, as also ix. 6) that "In the *image* of God made he man;" but afterwards it is said, (Gen. v. 1,) "In the *likeness* of God made he him;" because after the fall, man's image became changed from his heavenly image, and himself at the same time so altered, that he now dreaded the beasts of the field. Previous to the fall, all creatures of the earth trembled and feared before man; for whensoever they looked on him, they beheld that holy, heavenly image; but after sin, his image was transformed into another, and became so altered, that man trembled and feared before the other creatures. Come and see! Those men who do not sin against their Lord, nor transgress the precepts of his law, retain the brightness of their image, unchanged from that heavenly archetype, and all creatures of the earth fear and tremble before them. But as soon as men transgress the words of the law, their image becomes changed, and they all fear and tremble before the other creatures, because that heavenly image has been changed, or rather has departed from them. There-

fore the wild beasts exercise dominion over them; no longer observing in them that heavenly image, as we have already explained.

"And he breathed in his nostrils the breath of life," (Gen. ii. 4—7,) i. e. a holy spirit springing out of the heavenly life. "And man became a living soul," i. e. man became filled with a holy soul from a higher life, which cometh forth from the earth, as it is written, (Gen. i. 24,) "The earth bringeth forth a soul, which is the heavenly life." Come and see! As long as this holy soul is united to man, so long is man a beloved of God, and guarded on all sides by sundry guards. He likewise bears the impress of salvation from head to foot, and the Holy Shechinah rests upon him. But as soon as he departs from God's ways, the Shechinah also departs from him, and the holy soul no longer remains united to him, but a spirit comes over him, which proceeds from the wicked and powerful serpent, who roams throughout the earth, and only abides wherever celestial holiness has departed. Therefore mankind is polluted, and transformed thoroughly and entirely, both in body and visage.

III. *Man is born with Original Sin. It abides in him unto death.*

As soon as man comes into the world, he is beset by the evil tempter, who continually accuses him, as it is written, (Gen. iv. 8,) "Sin lieth at the door." What means "Sin lieth?" It is the evil tempter, whom David also calls sin, when he says, (Psalm li. 6,) "and my *sin* is always before me." And the evil tempter is called sin, because it is his occupation, unceasingly to seduce men to sin against the Lord. This evil spirit doth never depart from man, from the very day of his birth. But the good propensities enter a man, when he begins to sanctify himself? Now, when does man begin to sanctify himself? As soon as he has reached his thirteenth year. Then these two associate themselves with him, one on the right hand, the other on the left. The good spirit to the right, the evil one to the left. These are, in fact, two angels placed before him, and who will meet him at all times. But when man begins to walk piously, then the bad spirit humbles itself before him, and the

right prevails over the left. Both, however, are equal in man, in order to watch over him in all his paths and undertakings.

IV. *Adam, by his Sin, introduced death.*

"Our father died by his sin," (Numbers xxvii. 2.) Rabbi Eliezer asks, "My son, since thou hast spoken of this matter, tell me what meaneth, 'he died by his sin?'" The boy replies, "Father, father, a single word explains it sufficiently. Because that serpent rebelled in heaven, with his host, (referring to original sin,) the consequence was, that man died by his (the serpent's) sin, (his temptation.) Else what would have been the meaning of 'By his own sin'? Wherefore, (if it be referred to the serpent,) by the sin of that serpent, and not by any other? Above all, what could this phrase mean? 'For he died by his own sin.' Surely, 'By *his* sin,' means nothing else than the revolt which that serpent instigated with his host, (i. e. the temptation,) whereby he occasioned his own death."

"And the serpent was subtle." Gen iii. 1. The serpent, the evil tempter and the angel of death, are one and the same; and the serpent, being the angel of death, thereby occasioned death to the whole world. This is the mystery of that passage, (Gen. vii. 13,) "The end of all flesh is come before me." The end of all flesh, inasmuch as God took away the souls from all bodies.

Rabbi Simeon began and said, "Like Adam they have transgressed the covenant; there have they dealt treacherously against me. Who, O man, can wipe away the dust from thine eyes? One law only did the holy one give thee, and thou wast not in a condition to obey it, because thou didst suffer thyself to be seduced by subtle words, by which that evil serpent sought to pervert thee; as it is written, 'And the serpent was subtle.' Thou hast then suffered thyself to be seduced by him, and hast thereby entailed death not on thyself alone, but on all the generations that spring from thee! Whosoever is seduced by him, and holds intercourse with him, he surely falleth into destruction."

Come and see the secret of that expression, (Gen. iii. 14,) 'God drave Adam out of paradise." Man having sinned, because a captive, and has subjected himself and the whole world

to death. He, for the sake of the tree, in which he sinned, subjected himself and the whole world to banishment, so that he and his sons for ever became banished.

V. *God plunges into Eternal Condemnation, all who do not repent themselves betimes.*

Rabbi Jose spake, "Woe to the impenitent, who will not be converted from their sins unto the holy commandment while they yet remain in the world. For if man maketh atonement, and repenteth him of his sins, the Holy One forgives him; those who harden themselves in their guilt, and will not be converted from their sins against the holy law, he casts into hell, from whence he never after suffers them to escape."

VI. *But whosoever will be a friend of God, must become so, through the Matrona, (Messiah,) who is the Mediatrix between God and man.*

What meaneth "The way to the tree of life?" Gen. iii. 24. The great Matrona, (Shechinah,) for she is the way to that great, that mighty tree of life; as it is written, (Cantic. iii. 7,) "Behold his bed, which is *Solomon's*; threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel,"* (i. e. the heavenly Israel.) "They all hold swords," etc. When the Matrona taketh the sword, then all take it with her; therefore it is said, (Exod. xiv. 19,) "and the angel of God removed." Is she then called the angel of God? "Yes," answers Rabbi Abba, "come and see!", Thus saith Rabbi Simeon, "The Holy One hath reared up before him a holy temple, a heavenly temple; a holy city, a heavenly city; which is called Jerusalem, the holy city. Whoever will come before the King, as it is only through this city a way leads to him, must take his way from this city. Therefore it is said, (Psalm xcviii. 20,) 'This is the gate to *Jehovah*, the righteous shall enter therein.' All the orders of the King go forth from the Matrona, and whatsoever is presented to the King must first come before the Matrona, and thence be laid before the King.

* Solomon is the Shechinah, or Matrona, and the heavenly Israel here is the angelic host, because the church of Israel is always an antitype of the angelic host.

Consequently the Matrona is the 'Mediatrix' of all, from above to below, and from below to above. She is, therefore, the Mediatrix of all, forasmuch as it is said, (Exod. xiv. 19,) 'and an angel of God removed, who went before the camp of Israel,' i. e. the heavenly Israel. The angel of God is he of whom it is said, (Exod. xiii. 21,) 'and Jehovah went before them,' etc., as we have already proved. But is it consistent with the dignity of the King, that the Matrona should go to wage war; that she should be used as a messenger? Bethink thee of a King, who hath leagued himself with a Matrona. As the King was convinced of her superiority above all the other Matronas of the world, he said, 'all others appear like beasts, compared with my Matrona; she surpasses them all; what then shall I do, to prove my favor towards her? I will give all my house into her hands.' Forthwith the King caused it to be publicly proclaimed, 'henceforth, whatsoever belongs to the King is transferred to the Queen.' Therefore he transferred to her all his arms, all his military officers, all his jewels, and his royal treasure. 'Henceforth,' he exclaimed, 'no one who is under the necessity of consulting me, can obtain any decree, until I have first informed the Matrona.' Thus too has the Holy One, from his infinitely great friendship and love to the church of Israel, given all things into her power, for he saith, 'all nations who follow after idols are as nothing compared with her;' 'my dove, mine undefiled is one.' (Cantic. vi. 9.) What shall I do to exhibit my favor towards her? This will I do. I will give all my house into her hands." *

VII. *Metatron is the first of Creatures; the Image of God.*

When it is said, (Gen. xxiv. 2,) "*his* servant," we are thereby to understand the servant of God. "The eldest of his house," who is the next to him in his service. And who is this? This is Metatron, as already mentioned, who is hereafter to quicken the dead in the graves. That is indicated in the passage, (*ut supra,*) "and Abraham said to *his* servant," that is, Metatron, the

* The comparison does not seem to lead to this result. The thing may rather be thus understood, viz., Israel peculiarly possesses the Matrona, as Queen Regent. The honor which God confers on her, he also extends to his holy people

servant of God, "the eldest of his house," who is the first among the creations of God, "who ruleth over all that he hath," to whom the Holy One hath given dominion over all his hosts.

VIII. *The Shechinah is the supreme Angel, the counterpart of God, and one with God.*

As the holy one is hidden in the mysteries of the law, whereby he becometh known to us? By the law, which is the Shechinah, and the Shechinah is his image, i. e. as he is condescending, so is the Shechinah condescending; he is gracious so is Shechinah gracious; he is mighty; she is the mighty mistress over all nations of the earth. He is truth; she is true. He is omniscient; so is she omniscient. He is just; she also is just. He is a King; she a Queen. He is wise; she is wise. He is the crown; she its diadem, a diadem of glory. Therefore, the learned men have laid it down as a principle, "any one whose interior is not as his exterior, must not in the school penetrate into the image of God; inasmuch as *he* is his own interior, and the Shechinah his exterior, (i. e. he is his own inner, internally; she his outer, externally;) without there being any difference between him as the interior and her as the exterior. Note it well! She is an efflux from him, yet still without any difference. For, 'thou shalt cover from within and from without;'* and, forasmuch as he, who is internally the hidden Jehovah, is only named by the Shechinah, therefore say the learned, 'I (God) am not written as man nameth me. In this world I am written JEHOVAH, but am read *Adonai;* but in the other world, I am both written and read JEHOVAH, that mercy may be on all sides.'"

(JEHOVAH is the name for the principle of mercy, but ADONAI for that of justice.)

Though the Schechinah, compared with all other lights of creation, is as the soul to the body; yet as regards the Holy One, it is only to be considered as the body; but both are one and the same; which is not the case in man; for in him, body and

* i. e. It is only by the world of the Efflux, (the ideal world) that God is known externally as the "Fulness."

soul are two separate essences; the former is earth, the latter spirit; this imperishable, that perishable. But the Holy One is life; and so is the Shechinah also life.

There is also a sect, which take their name and title from the above-mentioned book. They are "principally scattered throughout Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Poland; and may, on a general view, be divided into two classes. First, those who outwardly conform to Judaism, and apparently live after the manner of Jews; and, secondly, those who profess Christianity, or, rather, who have joined the community of the church of Rome; of this number, many are found in Poland, especially at Warsaw, and also in Moravia. There are also a few at Prague; but the majority of Zoharites in that city are of the first class, apparently living after the manner of their brethren, the Talmudists, though, in fact, they believe the ceremonial law now abrogated, and no longer binding. This act of dissimulation is resorted to by way of conciliating the Jews, who, a few years ago, raised a most vexatious persecution against them, so that the police of Prague were obliged to interfere, to protect them from insult. Their service is generally performed by the oldest and most learned man amongst them, who is called the head of the family; for they consider themselves all as one family, (something like the primitive Christians,) and lead, in this respect, a sort of patriarchal life among themselves. They all assemble, men, women and chidren, every Friday evening, in the house of their head of the family, who lives in a truly patriarchal manner, and who is never approached by any one of them without the greatest demonstrations of respect, all kissing his hands before they enter upon their religious service. Their number cannot be ascertained; and all questions on this point are answered by saying, 'We are but as one family.'

"It was with some difficulty that the address of the head of the family of the Zoharites at Prague could be ascertained; and equally difficult to find his house, through the intricacies of narrow lanes, alleys and courts, in which the Jews there are cooped up. And here must be mentioned the miserable condition of the Israelites; for in the wretched quarter, inhabited solely by them, (and therefore called Jews' town,) at every turn

a new scene of misery and wretchedness, surpassing all belief, presents itself. There are about ten thousand Jews so crowded, in a few narrow streets, that in many houses three and four families are obliged to live in one single room together, the parts of which, allotted to each family, being marked out with chalk. Need more be said, than to give some idea of their bodily wretchedness and moral degradation? O, ye descendants of Abraham, ye children of promise, behold how the gold has become dim, the most fine gold changed! 'O, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!' What will be the fate of that nation and government, in the day when the Lord 'shall make up his jewels,' whose oppressive policy and despotic tyranny deals thus with Israel, God's ancient and chosen people? It is written, 'I will feed them that oppress thee, with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine; and all flesh shall know, that I the Lord am thy Savior and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.'

"The head of the family of Zoharites is a well-informed man, 'mighty in the Scriptures,' thoroughly acquainted with Jewish literature, especially that part peculiar to his sect, the Cabala; and not only conversant with the New Testament, but also with the writings of the fathers, and the reformers, and church history in general. But it is to be regretted that he lacks the most needful of all knowledge, to know Christ as the power and wisdom of God unto salvation, to all them that believe in him. When called upon, he was surrounded by several of his sect, expounding a portion of the prophecies of Isaiah, which afforded a favorable opportunity of opening a conversation on the evangelical predictions of that prophet, and at once proclaiming Jesus Christ as the child born and the son given; the man of sorrows, 'who hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows, who was despised, and we esteemed him not.' It was admitted that the Christian interpretation of the prophecies relating to the Messiah, was, in the main points, correct; that it corresponded, also, with the mystical doctrines and traditions of the ancient Jewish church; and that the idea and scheme of

Christianity and the New Testament are good; for so it must be, that Messiah must suffer many things. But Jesus, it was objected, cannot be the Messiah, as he did not accomplish the main object of the coming of the son of David, by restoring the kingdom of heaven, taking away all sin and uncleanness, and bringing in everlasting righteousness; the very people professing to be the disciples of the Messiah, and the children of the new covenant, 'having changed the truth of God into a lie, being filled with all unrighteousness to work uncleanness with greediness.' How is it possible, it is said, that the Christians should be the children of adoption under the new covenant, and fellow-heirs with Israel, the very people who are persecuting the Jews, God's ancient chosen race, with unrelenting hatred and malice? 'Is there any sorrow like unto our sorrow?' they repeatedly said. 'Is there a people persecuted as we are? And who are our persecutors and enemies? Not the heathen — not the Chinese, Japanese, or Indians, upon whom the Lord will inflict vengeance, but the Christians. They profess to be the disciples of the Prince of Peace, the Savior of Israel; but theirs will be the fury of the Lord; upon them will he pour his wrath, for they have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his dwelling-place.'"

"It is difficult to conceive," says the Rev. T. Page, A. M., minister of Christ church, Egham, England, "how any mind that has ever been brought under the influence of genuine Christianity — itself the glorious antitype of Judaism — can be otherwise than benevolently disposed towards that most remarkable section of the posterity of Adam, the Jews. Not only when we contemplate the former period of their history, when a theocracy shed over it an unparalleled and unearthly distinction, are we compelled to offer the tribute of veneration to a people so stamped with the impress of divine selection and favor: but it is not possible to contemplate even their present condition, 'scattered and peeled,' 'meted out,' and 'trodden down,' as they now are, over the whole earth, — subject, as they every where are, to obloquy, oppression, and prejudice, — and sunk, as they, alas! too generally are, into a state of moral and spiritual, as well as political degradation, — without remembering that of

them originally were the fathers, and the covenants, and the promises; that of them, 'as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever;' that there is nothing consoling or glorious in the recorded wonders of redemption, nothing inspiriting or sublime in its predicted triumphs, with which the Jews, as a nation, are not identified; and moreover, without recalling to mind the fact, which of itself would constitute a sufficient claim upon our kindliest feelings, that, in their present condition, — still standing out, as they so long have done, peculiar and alone, a miraculous anomaly in the manner by which divine Providence disposes of the affairs of nations, — the world is furnished with an abiding proof, before which infidelity itself shrinks abashed, of the divine inspiration of that volume, in which a fact so infinitely removed beyond all human foresight is distinctly foretold, and which we profess to receive as the treasury of our dearest consolations in time, and the warrant for our noblest expectations in eternity.

"That this has not been more generally the case among nominal Christians, can only be accounted for on the ground of a much too prevalent indifference about a people which is still as much as ever beneath the protection of God's special and ever-jealous care. Yea, the fact that their land, which is still their inalienable inheritance, — the scene of all their national prosperity in former times, and which will be again a scene of far greater in times to come, is, at this moment, a ground of dispute among those powers who seem, under God, to have the whole world at their disposal, is surely one which cannot fail to create an intense interest in their swift-unfolding destinies, in the heart of every individual who can give implicit credit to the oft-repeated declaration of God, in his 'sure word of prophecy,' that in the land of their forefathers Judah shall yet be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely.

"Yes, the period is drawing on, with all that steadiness and certainty which the purpose and the promise of God can give, when these banished ones shall be again the people of the Lord. Upon their midnight gloom the sun of righteousness shall rise, in full-orbed majesty, 'to be the glory of his people Israel.' To the fold of God these wandering sheep shall be brought back

with songs of rejoicing, and there shall be one fold, one shepherd, one Lord, and his name One. The middle wall of partition shall be forever broken down; the enmity arising from their besotted adherence to carnal ordinances shall be finally and fully abolished; and of twain shall one new man be made, and the hope of the Jew, and the hope of the Gentile, shall be based upon the same unchanging foundation, and be sanctioned by the same everlasting covenant.

"'I say, then, Hath God cast away his people? God forbid!' No — he hath not — he will not — may we with reverence say it — he cannot cast away his people. The sun, and the moon, and the stars shall, of their own accord, withdraw their illuminating beams, and leave the world in pitchy darkness, before it can be said of the seed of Jacob, God hath forsaken them! 'For thus saith the Lord, If my covenant be not with the day and the night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth, then will I cast away the seed of Jacob, and David my servant, so that I will not take any of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for I will cause their captivity to return, and will have mercy upon them.' 'In their land they shall possess the double; everlasting joy shall be unto them, and their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their offspring among the people; all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed.'"

MAIMONIDES' OPINION CONCERNING THE MESSIAH.

Maimonides, in his treatise called Hilchoth Melachim, chapter xi., writes thus: —

"The King Messiah shall rise to make the kingdom of David return to its former condition and power; and he shall build the temple, and gather in the scattered of Israel; and in his days he shall reëstablish the code of laws, as it was in the days of old; they shall offer up sacrifices, and they shall celebrate the seven years of release, and the years of jubilee, according to all the commandments which are mentioned in the law; and whoever does not believe in him, and does not hope in his coming, not only denies the words of the prophets, but also the law

of Moses; for has not the law testified of him? as it is written, (Deut. xxx. 3,) 'that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord thy God scattered thee.' 'If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost parts of heaven, from thence the Lord thy God will gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee.' These are the words contained in the law, and these comprise all that has been said by all the prophets.

"Balaam speaks of him, and prophesies of two Messiahs. The first Messiah is David, who shall save Israel from the hand of the children of Esau.

"He says, 'I shall see him, but not nigh,' this is the King Messiah. 'There shall come a star of Jacob,' this is David. 'And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel,' this is the King Messiah. 'And shall smite the corners of Moab,' this is David; for it is said of him, 'And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line.' 2 Sam. viii. 'And destroy all the children of Seth,' this is the King Messiah; for it is written, 'His dominion shall be from sea to sea.' Zech. ix. 10. 'And Edom shall be a possession for his enemies,' this is King Messiah; for it is written, 'And Saviors shall come upon Mount Zion, to judge the mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's.'

"And likewise by the cities of refuge, it is seen that a Messiah must come; for it is written, 'And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast, as he has sworn unto thy fathers, then shalt thou add three cities more for thee besides these three.' Deut. xix. 7—9. As there never was an addition of three cities of refuge, it must be concluded that Messiah will come, and three cities of refuge will be added, for God never commands a thing in vain."

In the Hilchoth Melachim, chap. xii., Maimonides writes thus concerning the Messiah: —

"It must not come into thy thought, that in the days of the Messiah, things will not go their natural way, or that there shall be a new thing in the work of creation. The world shall be governed as usual, for thus it is written: 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the

kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together.' This is only to be taken in a figurative sense; the meaning of which is, that the Israelites shall sit in safety with the wicked of the Gentiles, who are compared to a wolf and a leopard, as it is written in a metaphorical manner in Jeremiah v. 6, 'Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them; a leopard shall watch over their cities.' For they all shall return to the truth, and shall neither rob nor destroy, but shall enjoy those things which are compatible with the rest and ease of Israel; for it is written, 'And the lion shall eat straw like the ox;' and there are many such verses which are written in metaphorical language respecting the Messiah. All these parables and types will be explained in the days of the Messiah.

"The wise men say, that there is not between this world and the times of the Messiah any difference, except this, that the Messiah alone shall govern — he alone!

"The plain text of the prophets shows, that in the beginning of the arrival of the Messiah, the battle of Gog and Magog shall be fought; and before the battle of Gog and Magog, a prophet shall rise to make straight the way to Israel, and to prepare their hearts; for it is written, 'Behold, I send before you Elijah,' &c. And the business of that messenger shall not be to decide what is clean or unclean; or to declare those men who are in reputation of being righteous, as unrighteous; or to declare those men righteous, who are not so; there shall be no such things! All that the messenger shall have to do, shall be to proclaim 'peace on earth!' For it is written, Malachi, iv. 6, 'And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children.' There are wise men who say, that Elijah shall come before the coming of the Messiah. All those things, however, and how they shall take place, no mortal knows, until they shall take place: they are hidden with the prophets, and the wise men have not received any tradition whatever on this subject. We know only as much as the prophets show us; and on this account we differ in our opinions; we cannot, therefore, assert our opinions with confidence, as we know nothing with certainty; and men may spend their whole life in considering the subject.

But they ought not so to spend their time, for it neither leads to the fear nor to the love of the Lord; and we ought not to make calculations of the time of his arrival. The wise men say, it is enough to wait for his coming, and they believe in general as we have explained it. In the time of the King Messiah, his kingdom shall be settled; all Israel shall be gathered to him; they shall show their pedigree by the power of the Holy Spirit, who shall rest upon him; for it is written, Mal. iii. 3, 'And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness.' The children of Levi shall be purified first. One shall say, that he traces his pedigree from the priests, and another from Levi; and ye shall expel those who are not of the tribe of Israel; for does he not say, 'And the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim?' From this ye learn that by the Holy Spirit it will be known of what tribe every one is. The Messiah shall make known of what tribe every one is; but he shall not say, that this one is illegitimate, and that a servant. The wise men and the prophets do not desire that Messiah may come, in order that they may govern over the Gentiles; nor that they may subdue the Gentiles; nor that they may be exalted over the Gentiles; nor for the sake of eating and drinking, and being merry; but that they may look into the law and its wisdom, that they may deserve everlasting life; as we have explained it in the treatise, Hilchoth Teshubah, about everlasting life."

OPINIONS OF MAIMONIDES, AND OTHER RABBIS, CONCERNING THE WORLD TO COME.

Maimonides says, "that amongst the Jews there are five different opinions as to future blessedness;" and, from his statement, it appears that the Jews have no fixed or certain doctrine on the subject. In his comment upon the words, "All Israel have a part in the world to come," Maimonides says, "I here think it right to treat of some fundamental articles of the faith, of great importance and dignity. You must know that the

learned in the law are divided in their opinions as to the nature of the good which will accrue to man from the keeping of the commandments, which the blessed God gave us by the hand of Moses our master, — peace be upon him ; and of the evil which will result from their transgression. The differences are great, according to the differences of their intellect; and the views are so exceedingly confused, that you will scarcely find any one person to whom this matter is clear, and you will not find one whose view of the matter is decided. On the contrary, in the greatest confusion, one class thinks that the future bliss means paradise, and that this is a place where they eat and drink without any previous labor or fatigue to the body, and that there they have houses built of precious stones, and beds covered with silk, and rivers flowing with wine and perfumed oils, and many things of the same kind. Further, that the threatened evil means hell; and that this is a place burning with fire, where the bodies are burned, and the children of men tormented with various kinds of torment and affliction, too many to enumerate. This class of persons bring arguments for their opinion from the words of our Rabbis, of blessed memory, and from passages of Scripture, of which the simple meaning is favorable to their opinions, either in whole or in great part.

" A second class suppose and think, that the expected good means the days of the Messiah, (may he soon be revealed ;) and that at that time the children of men will all be angels, living and abiding forever; and that they will be great of stature, and that they shall multiply and increase until they cause the whole world to be inhabited forever, and that this Messiah, as they think, shall live by the help of God; and that in those days the earth shall bring forth garments ready woven, and bread ready baked, and other like impossibilities; and that the evil is non-existence in those days, and exclusion from participation therein; and they support these views by arguments drawn from the sayings of our wise men, and from Scripture passages, the literal sense of which agrees therewith, at least in part.

" A third class think, that by the expected good is meant the resurrection of the dead; and their idea of this is, that man shall live after death, and return with his relations and family,

and eat and drink, and not die any more; and that the evil shall be not to live again with those that live. These persons also bring arguments from our Rabbis and from Scripture, of which the literal sense agrees with what they say, either in whole or in part.

"A fourth class is of opinion, that the reward to be attained by keeping the commandments is bodily rest, the attainment of worldly pleasures in this present world, as fertility of the soil, much wealth, a numerous progeny, health of body, peace, security, an Israelitish king, and dominion over those who oppress us; and that the evil which will overtake us, if we apostatize from the law, is the opposite of these things, such as we experience at present in this state of captivity; and they support their opinion by many passages of the law, and by the curses denounced, and other parts of Scripture.

"A fifth, and very numerous class, combine all these things, and say, 'Our hope is, that Messiah shall come, and raise the dead, and that they shall be gathered into paradise, and there they shall eat and drink, and be in good health forever.' But with regard to this wonderful point, namely, the world to come, you will be able to find very few who have ever thought of considering or conceiving this fundamental article, or who can say to what state of things this expression applies; whether it be itself the desired end, or whether one of the foregoing opinions is the end; or who can distinguish between the end and the means that lead to it. The questions that engage the people, both the uninformed mass and the more wise, are, how the dead shall rise, naked or clothed — whether they shall come forth in the same grave-clothes in which they were buried, with their embroidery and form, and fine needlework, or only with clothing which may cover the body - - and, when Messiah comes, whether there shall be in his days the distinction between rich and poor, strong and weak, and many similar things." (Sanhedrim, fol. 118, 119.)

Such is Maimonides' account of the expectations of the Jewish people in his time, and he says explicitly, that they are the expectations not only of the ignorant but of the whole people; so that it is difficult to find even one individual who has, what

he considered, right views. It is very true that the last fifty years have made a great change in Europe, and it is certain that now there are many who reject the Talmudic accounts; but still the great mass of the Jewish people, in the West as well as in the East, entertain the very same hopes. The liturgy of the German and Polish Jews, who, together, make at least one half of the Jewish population of the world, still teaches the frequenters of the synagogue to look forward to a feast upon Behemoth and Leviathan; and the Sphardim* in Turkey and Barbary and the East, still believe implicitly and literally the fables of the Talmud.

One of the most distinguished living clergymen of the English church, the Rev. Dr. William Marsh, of Birmingham, has, on many occasions, evinced his zeal for the conversion of the Jews. A few years ago, a Jew who had embraced Christianity, and was greatly persecuted in consequence, sought and found a home in the house of this excellent man. Not long after, four of Dr. Marsh's children successively sickened and died. This was regarded by some persons as a judgment from God upon the doctor for his affording shelter to one who had long denied and blasphemed our Lord. But one and all of the children declared, on their deathbeds, that they had been brought to a saving interest in Christ by means of the converted Jew. Painful as the bereavement was, their pious father would, we doubt not, acknowledge the goodness of God in rewarding his kind treatment of a descendant of Abraham, by making that individual the instrument of spiritual blessings to those nearest and dearest to him.

When he was laid on his dying bed, he dictated the following address to the under graduates of Cambridge. So calm, collected, and vigorous was his mind, that he did not alter a single word in it when it was read over to him for correction: "My dear young friends, I have long wished to address you on this occasion; and since I had no hopes of doing it by word of mouth, I have wished to do it through the medium of Mr. Spence, (one of Mr. Simeon's curates;) but the weakness that

* Sphardim signifies Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Jews.

has come upon me, incapacitates me from doing it as I would desire. You will, however, excuse my infirmities.

"The thing which I wish to bring before you is this: ought we, or ought we not, to resemble Almighty God in the things most near and dear to God himself? It has been the one object of my life to do so, and it is my dying prayer for you, that you may do so also. Now, I ask, what is at this very moment God's view of his ancient people, and his feeling towards them? 'I have delivered the dearly beloved of my soul into the hands of her enemies.' Jer. xii. 7.

"Are such God's feelings towards them even now? and ought not ours to resemble them? Have we no cause for shame, and sorrow, and contrition, that we have resembled him so little in past times? And has not every one of us cause for shame, and sorrow, and contrition, for his sad want of resemblance to God at this very hour? yea, for his very contrariety to God in this respect? Yes, have we not reason to blush and be confounded before God, when not even a desire for this resemblance has existed in our minds?

"Respecting them at this moment also, God says, (Rom. xi. 28,) 'They are beloved for the fathers' sakes;' and have we no sense of shame that there is no correspondence of mind between God and us in that respect?

"But God says concerning them, 'I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine Holy Name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went; and I will sanctify my great name which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes. For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land.' Ezek. xxvi. 22—24.

"Now, I ask, let the Jews be ever so insignificant, that we do nothing for *their* sakes, ought not the glory of God's Holy Name to be as dear to us as it is to him? Are there no obligations lying upon us on this ground? Have we no cause for shame, and sorrow, and contrition, that these considerations have

weighed so little in our minds? Surely, if we felt as we ought, the glory of God, as connected with this subject, should be dear to us, dearer than life itself. But who, in this view, does not stand self-condemned before God?

"But let us enter upon another part of the subject — God's design and purpose towards them. (Jer. xxxii. 41.) 'Yea, I will rejoice over them to do them good, and will plant them in this land assuredly, with my whole heart and with my whole soul.'

"Now, I ask, is this God's state of mind towards them? What, then, should have been ours? But, alas! what are our own? What have they been in times past? What are they at the present moment? Tell me, are we not sadly unlike to God? And should it not be a matter of daily humiliation that we are so? Yea, should we not all rise at this moment as one man, with self-indignation against ourselves, that we are so utterly unlike to God, and so little ardent to resemble him, and to accomplish his will?

"Read what is said at Zeph. iii. 17—20: 'The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty; he will save, he will rejoice over thee with joy; he will rest in his love; he will joy over thee with singing. I will gather them that are sorrowful for the solemn assembly, who are of thee, to whom the reproach of it was a burden. Behold, at that time I will undo all that afflict thee; and I will save her that halteth, and her that was driven out; and I will get them praise and fame in every land where they have been put to shame. At that time will I bring you again, even in the time that I gather you; for I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity before your eyes, saith the Lord.'

"And, having read it, ask whether we should not rise to this mind? Can we hope for God's blessing on our own souls, when we have so little regard for the souls of his most dear people, and so little resemblance in ourselves to him respecting them?

"I say no more! May God speak to all of you with thunder and with love; and may my dying hour be a source of life to God's interest among you all, both in this place and throughout

the world. Well might Mr. Cartwright, as minister of the Episcopal Jews' chapel, preach a funeral sermon for Mr. Simeon, and take as his text, (Luke vii. 5,) 'He loveth our nation.'"

It is the purpose of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, to remember once more his ancient people the Jews, who shall be delivered out of the hands of their enemies of the Gentile nations (heathen and Christian) by the exercise of his almighty and miraculous power, and shall be restored to their own land, converted, and become the centre of the visible church of Christ, — the *chief* of the nations of the earth, during the reign of universal righteousness and peace. Deut. xxx. 1—9; xxvii. 1—10—13; xxxii. 26, 27, 31—36, 41—43; xxxiii. 26—29; Leviticus xxvi. 3—12; Exod. xv. 17, 18; Numb. xxiii. 21, 23, 24; xxiv. 5—9, but particularly 14—24, where it is related what Israel is to achieve, and receive of felicity and glory through the Captain of their salvation, *the Star of Jacob in the latter days.*

The subject of the restoration and conversion of the Jews, and the glory that shall follow, will be more clearly and fully understood by examination of the following brief collection of *unfulfilled* prophecies, after a more minute and methodical arrangement; and from what we have already seen of *literal* and *exact* fulfilment of prophecy, it is our duty to pray and wait in the sure and stedfast hope that all these glorious promises to Israel will have their full and accurate accomplishment.

I. At the time of the restoration and conversion of the Jews, there shall be greater wars, confusion, and desolation, throughout all the earth, than there have ever been since the world began.

See Dan. xii. 1; Matt. xxiv. 21, 29; Luke xxi. 25, 26; Joel ii. 2—11, 30, 31; iii.; Micah v. 8, 15; Isai. xxiv.; Zeph. iii. 8—20; Ezek. xxviii. 25, 26; xxxviii.; xxxix.; Hag. ii. 21, 22; Jerem. xxx. 7, 10; xxv. 13—17—27—31—33, 37, 38; 2 Chron. xv. 3—7; Hab. iii. 1—6—16; Numb. xxiv. 17—18; Micah iii. 7—13—17; Zech. xiv. 3—12; Rev. xvi. 14—16; xix. 11—21.

The Jews shall be the *chief instrument* in the hand of God for the punishment and destruction of their enemies of the Gentile nations. See Zech. ix. 13, 14; x. 3—5; Isai. xli. 8, 9, 15, 16;

Obad. 17, 18; Jerem. li. 19—23; Micah iv. 11—13; v. 8, 9, 15; vii. 16, 17; Zech. xii. 2—6—9; xiv. 14.

II. The Jews shall be gathered from all parts of the earth where they are now scattered, and brought home to their own land. See Isai. xi. 11; xxvii. 12—14; xliii. 5, 6; xlix. 11, 12; lx. 4. Compare Jerem. iii. 18; xvi. 14, 15; xxiii. 3, 8; xxx. 10; xxxi. 7—10; xxxii. 37; Hos. xi. 8, 10, 11; Zeph. iii. 10, 14—20; Zech. viii. 7, 8; x. 8—10.

III. This shall be done by a train of wonderful providences; they shall become the most prosperous, and honorable, and religious nation. Isai. xxvii. 12, 13; Ezek. xi. 17—21; xxxvi. 24—28; Hos. i. 10, 11; Amos ix. 11—15; Zech. xiv. 10, 11.

IV. They shall be carried by the Gentiles to their place, who shall, in all their fulness, join themselves with the Jews, and become the Lord's people. See Isai. xlix. 22; xiv. 2; lx. 9; lxvi. 19, 20; ii. 2—4; xlix. 6; Rom. xi. 12, 15, 25, 26; Jerem. iii. 17; xvi. 14, 15, 19; Ezek. xlvii. 22, 23; Micah v. 3; Zech. ii. 11; viii. 20, 21; xiv. 16.

V. The Jews shall, in the spirit of faith and repentance, embrace their own Messiah, whom they now reject, and thereupon be taken into the divine favor and everlasting covenant anew. Zech. xii. 10—14; xiii. 1; Rev. i. 7; Matt. xxiii. 39; Jerem. xxxi. 31—34; xxxiii. 5—8; i. 4, 5; xxxii. 27—42; Isai. lv. 3; lix. 21; Ezek. xvi. 60; and especially xxxii. 26—28; xxxiv. 25; Hos. iii. 4, 5; Rom. xi. 11—32; Isai. xlv. 8, 17—23—25; liv.; lx.; lxii.; lxv.; lxvi. 5—22.

VI. *As great* miracles shall be wrought, when Israel and Judah are brought out of all nations and restored to their own land, as formerly were wrought when they were brought out of Egypt. Jerem. xxiii. 3, 7, 8; xvi. 14, 15; and xxiii. 7, 8, especially Micah vii. 15, 16; Ezek. xx. 33—37.

1. The *drying up of the River Euphrates*, and the tongue of the Egyptian (or Red) Sea. Isai. xi. 15, 16; li. 9, 10; xliii. 16; Zech. x. 10, 11; Isai. x. 24, 26. It is from this *literal* drying up of the Euphrates, (in Isai. xi. 15, 16,) for the children of Israel to pass over dry shod, (Zeph. x. 10, 11,) that the *metaphor* of the drying up of the Euphrates is borrowed in Rev. xvi. 12, ("that the way of the kings of the east, the ten tribes, might be prepared,"

which means the decaying of the Turkish power and dominion, the long and bitter oppressor of the Jews.

2. *Causing rivers to flow in desert places.* Isai. xliii. 18—20; xxxv. 6; xli. 17—19; xlviii. 20, 21.

3. *Giving them the spirit of prophecy,* and other miraculous gifts. Joel ii. 21—32; this was *partially* fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, see Acts ii. 16—21, 39; Zech. xii. 10.

4. The *Lord Christ himself* shall, by the glorious Shechinah, appear at the head of them, (Micah ii. 12, 13; Isai. liii. 12; lviii. 8; Hos. i. 10, 11; Micah i. 1, 3, 4; Psalm xcvi. 13; xcvii. 1, 3—5; Isai. xxvi. 21; Zech. xiv. 4—9; Isai. lxiii. 1—5,) as he did in the Exodus from Egypt, by the manifestation of the Shechinah, (or divine glory,) in the pillar of a cloud by day, and by night in a pillar of fire. See Exod. xiii. 21; xiv. 19; compared with xvi. 7, 10; Exod. xxiv. 10, 11, 16, 17; xxxiii. 11, 14.

VII. The Jews, being restored and converted to the faith of Christ, shall be formed into a state, and become the *chief of the kingdoms of the earth,* and have judges and counsellors over them as formerly. The Lord Jesus Christ himself in person shall be their *king,* who shall also be acknowledged as king over all the earth; or, in the words of the salutation of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke i. 32, 33; Isai. ix. 7.) See Isai. i. 26; lx. 17; Jerem. xxiii. 4, 5; xxx. 8, 9, 21; Gen. xlix. 10; Ezek. xxi. 27; Zeph. iii. 5, 15, 17; Hos. iii. 6; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; xxxvii. 23, 25; Jerem. xxx. 9; xxiii. 5, 6; Isai. ix. 7, (compared with Luke i. 32, 33; Acts vii. 37—39, 52;) Isai. liv. 5; xlix. 6; Obad. 21; Zech. xiv. 5, 9; Ps. xxii. 27, 28; lxxxvi. 9; lxv. 11, 19; cii. 16—18; xcviii. 3, 6.

VIII. They shall have the victory over all their enemies, and all kingdoms and nations of the earth shall submit unto them. Isai. xi. 13, 14; xiv. 1—3; xli. 14—16; xlix. 23; lx. 3—16; xxv. 10; lxvii. 18—20; Joel iii. 7, 8, 19, 20; Obad. 17, 18; Micah iv. 6—8, 11—12; v. 6—9; vii. 16, 17; Zech. ii. 8, 9, 13; ix. 13—16; x. 5, 6; xii. 6; Numb. xxiv. 18, 19; and Hannah's triumphant song, 1 Sam. ii. 1—10.

IX. Judah and Israel, at that time, shall live peaceably together, formed into *one* kingdom, under *David* their king, (Messiah,) and shall never more be divided into kingdoms, nor ever contend with each other again. See Isai. xi. 13, 14; xiv. 1, 26; and xxxiv. 23; Jerem. iii. 1, 4, 5, 18; Ezek. xxxvii. 16—22—24, 28; xxxvi. 22—29, 31; Hos. i. 11; iii. 5; Jerem. xxiii. 6; xxx. 3, 4, 9; xxxiii. 6—9, 15—21—24—26; Zech. ix. 13; x. 6, 7, 12; Mic. iv. 7; Luke i. 32, 33; Isai. xxxii. 1.

They shall be very numerous and multiply greatly. Isai. xxvii. 6; xliv. 3—5; xlix. 18—23; liv. 1—3; lxi. 9; Jerem. xxii. 3—6; xxx. 18—20; xxxi. 27, 28; Ezek. xxxvi. 8—10, 38; Hos. xiv. 5—8; Isai. lxv. 22, 23; Psal. xcii. 12—14.

They shall have great peace, safety, and outward temporal blessings. Isai. xxxii. 15—18; xi. 6—9; xxxiii. 24; liv. 11—17; lx. 16—18—21; lxv. 18—25; lxi. 6, 7; Jerem. xxiii. 3—6; xxx. 10; xxxi. 1—14, 25—40; xxxiii. 6—9; Ezek. xxxiv. 25; Lev. xxxi. 6—12; and see Psalm lxxii., compared with the 1 Kings iv. 20—34, Solomon's reign a type of Christ's millennial reign.

They shall be very glorious and a blessing to the whole earth, Isai. xix. 24, 25; lxi. 9; Jerem. xxxiii. 6; Ezek. xxxiv. 26; Zeph. iii. 19, 20; Zech. vii. 13.

X. The land of Judea shall be made eminently fruitful, like Paradise or the Garden of Eden. Isai. xxxix. 17; xxxv. 1, 2, 7—10; li. 3; lv. 12, 13: Ezek. xxxiv. 26, 27; xxxvi. 11, 30, 35, 36; Joel iii. 18; ii. 21—27; Amos ix. 13, 15; Micah iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10; viii. 12; Hos. ii. 21—23; Psalm lxvii. 9; lxxxv. 12; Lev. xxvi. 3—6; Deut. xxxiii. 13—16; and Mal. iii. 10—12; Joel iii. 18. Compare Rom. viii. 19—22, and iii. 19—21; Matt. xvii. 11, and xix. 28, 29.

XI. The city of Jerusalem shall be rebuilt upon a larger and nobler scale than ever before; and, after the full restoration of the Jews, shall never more be destroyed, nor infested by enemies. Jer. xxxi. 38—40; xxx. 18, 21; Zech. xiv. 10, 11; viii. 3, 4—8, 13; xii. 6; Joel iii. 17; Psalm cxlvii. 2; cii. 13—16; li. 18, 19, and lxix. 35; Isai. lxv. 18, 19; xxxiii. 20; lxii. 1, 6, 7, lii. 1; lx. 11—15, 18, 21; i. 26; xxvi. 1; xxxiii. 5, 9; Jer. iii. 17; xxiv. 6, 7; Obad. 17; Amos ix. 14, 15; Psalm cxxi. 2—9; Isai. xvi. 1; Jer. xxxiii. 7.

"Such being the high purposes of God respecting the Jewish nation, let Christians, who, as the wild olive, are for the present partakers of the root and fatness of the olive-tree, become more sensible of their obligations and duties towards these, 'the natural branches.' Let us not doubt, but earnestly believe, that, as the fall of Israel hath been the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, the receiving of them will be, to the whole race of Adam, as life from the dead; that 'the remnant shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the Lord.'

"Let the season, Lord, be hastened,
Thy forsaken to restore;
Comfort them whom thou hast chastened;
Lead them back, to stray no more!

"'Go through, go through the gates, prepare ye the way of the people, cast up the highway, gather out the stones, lift up a standard for the people. Behold the Lord hath proclaimed unto the ends of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy salvation cometh, behold his reward is with him, and his work before him, and they shall call them, "The holy people," "The redeemed of the Lord;" and thou shall be called, "Sought out, A city not forsaken."'"

LINES BY GEORGE HERBERT.

"Poor nation, whose sweet sap and juice
Our scions have purloined and left you dry:
Whose streams we got by the apostle's sluice,
And use in baptism, while ye pine and die:
Who, by not keeping once became a debtor,
And now by keeping lose a better.

"O that my prayers! mine, alas!
O that some angel might a trumpet sound,
At which the church, falling upon her face,
Should cry so loud, until the trump were drown'd,
And by that cry of her dear Lord obtain
That your sweet sap might come again.

ON JUDAH.

"*Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel, and to the house of Judah.*" — Jer. xxxiii. 14.

WHO walked the valley in th' inspired dream,
When skeletons of mighty men lay round,
Flouting the darkness with their bony gleam?
Who heard the mystic voice — the rushing sound
Of shaking bones uplifted from the ground —
The breath of the four winds? Whose soul did meet
The shadowed glory of the warrior's bound,
Speaking of life, — the shout his lips repeat, —
The multitudinous host, and clang of armed feet?

'Tis the LORD'S day — the day of joy! weep not,
Daughter of Zion, for thy children's sake!
Though *thou* forget Him, He hath not forgot,
But cometh, in forgiving love, to break
The fetters of thy shame from off thy neck —
To give his presence to thy holy sod,
And bid the glory of thy streets awake!
Yea! Comfort ye my people, saith your God!
For Mercy comes to smile where blasting Vengeance trod

O, thou dejected city! thou forsaken
Land! where the Prophet's path was wont to be!
O, air, wherein the Psalmist's strings did waken,
Breathing their bold, inspired harmony!
Temple! where dwelt th' Eternal One! and ye,
His sad, and scattered sons! who cannot keep
The Lord's song among strangers, — on the tree
Hanging your harps, while, by the waters deep
Of this world's Babylon, ye, captive, sit, and weep!

Daughter of Zion! smooth thy cheek with smiles,
Put on thy beautiful garments, lift thy brow,
And shout rejoicing to the friendly isles,
That thy Redeemer is thy King, — that thou,
Captive with all thy sons, no more may'st bow, —
That God restores the people of his choice, —
That sorrow flees away, for ever, now!
O, shout it to the nations with glad voice!
For all the exulting Earth shall, in thy joy, rejoice!

E. B. B.

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